

Ann Dykes to John Last

LIGHT

Shining out of

DARKNESS:

O R,

Occasional Queries

SUBMITTED

To the Judgment of such as would
Enquire into the *True State* of
Things in our Times.

The whole *Work* Revised by the Author, the
Proofs Englished and Augmented, with sundry
Material Discourses concerning the *Ministry*,
Separation, *Inspiration*, *Scriptures*, *Humane Learning*,
Oaths, *Tithes*, &c.

With a Brief Apology for the *Quakers*, that
they are not Inconsistent with *Magistracy*.

By an Indifferent, but Learned Hand.

The Third Edition.

London, Printed and Sold by T. Sowle, in *White-
Hart-Court* in *Gracious-Street*, 1699.

4. The following information is being furnished to you for your information:

THE
Author's Preface

TO THE
Second Edition, in 1659.

Reader,

I Know not whether I injure the former Editioner, by reviewing and augmenting a Book, in which he had too great a share, that I should call it mine: Yet is it true, that most of the Queries, as to their substance, the whole Design and Preface were from me, and many of the Proofs, tho' several of the latter were inserted by him, and several, which I had put down, omitted or transposed, and that so disadvantageously, that they might seem either false or impertinent; besides that, they were imperfectly cited often, so as not to yield satisfaction to any, who had not the Books at hand.

But

The Author's Preface, &c.

But in this Edition I think the Reader will not be at any loss, but what the Printer's Errors may create him. Some Queries are wanting here, which were in the former, as that of Toleration; which, with the very same Citations, is more largely and convincingly handled in the Defence of the Good Old Cause, published by H. Stubbe of Ch. Ch. in Oxon which Treatise I must recommend to thy diligent perusal.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

THis Discourse was writ by an Extraordinary Person, and has lain too long out of Print. Its *Learning* and *Usefulness* Challenge a place amongst the Best Tracts extant, where *Primitive Christianity* and *Protestancy* have their due Credit. It's *Short*, but *Full*; and seems the Contents of those Ages in which *Truth* shined with so much *Luster*.

Read, Think, and then Judge. Adieu.

OCCASIONAL

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QUERIES,

SUBJECTED

To the Judgment of such as would En-
quire into the true State of things in
these Our Times.

I. **W**Hether there be any certain or peculiar
Name in the New Testament that
signifies a Minister? Or any Name
whence an Officer may be convincingly inferred?
If there be not (as there is just cause to doubt)
whether the present Ministers are not to blame,
while they pretend to an Office and Function
grounded upon Divine Right; which hath no other
Foundation, than the Hay and Stubble of Humane
Conjecture?

The words used in Scripture to signify
a Minister, (as they are vulgarly applied)
are ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ, and ΎΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ, and ΑΕΛ-
ΤΟΤΡΟΣ. Now none of these determi-
nately signifies an Officer, but any one that
performs such or such a Work, whether
out of Duty or Charity. Minister Executor
means est, say the Civil Lawyers: ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ
signifies either a Deacon or Church-warden,

Acts 6. or else it may be taken in as large
 a Sense as hath been specified, *Philem. v. 13.*
ἵνα ἵνα ἐγὼ αὖ διακονῶ σοι, that he may minister
 to me in your stead. Was this an Office?
 So the Civil Magistrate is called *Διάκονος Θεοῦ*,
 the Minister of God, *Rom. 13. 4.* and *1 Cor.*
3. 9. Who is Paul? Who is Apollo? *οἱ δὲ
 διάκονοι διὰ τῶν ἐπισκευῶν*, but Ministers (or In-
 struments) through whom you have be-
 lieved. And Satan (though he be a great
 Imitator of Christ) is not said to have a
 constituted Ministry by way of Office for his
 Service, yet he hath Ministers, *2 Cor. 11. 15.*
 Satan is said to transform himself into an
 Angel of Light. *Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐν οἱ καὶ οἱ διάκονοι
 αὐτοῦ μετασχηματίζονται εἰς διάκονοι δικαιοσύνης*
 therefore it is no great thing if his Mini-
 sters be transformed as the Ministers of Right-
 eousness. This is not meant of any peculiar
 Function or Office, but a general Perfor-
 mance of any thing accordingly as an Officer,
 Servant or Minister would. In like manner
 is *δούλος* used in that general sense: Ma-
 gistrates are said to be *δούλοι Θεοῦ*, God's
 Ministers, *Rom. 13. 6.* And Paul saith of
Epaphroditus, that he was *δούλος καὶ χρεώτης*,
 he did minister to his wants, *Phil. 2. 25.* yet
 was not he his small Officer that we know.
 So *υπάκουτος* is taken also, *Acts 13. 6.* John
 was the *υπάκουτος*, or Minister, or Servant of
 Paul and Barnabas. Yet doth it not appear
 that he was so by Duty, but Respect, see *Acts*
20. 30. and *Acts 24. 23.* Is it not then pro-
 bable, (and that is all that is desired at pre-
 sent)

sent) that there was no distinct Office, because there is no distinct Name for *Ministers*? And is it not evident, that such an Office cannot be proved thence, the places being equivocal, and capable of a different sense than what is usually put upon them?

The Name of *Minister* hath been much quarrell'd at before any Civil Wars in England: Bishop *Andrews* was offended at it, as being a *Novelism*, in his Letters to *du Moulin*, saying, (Ep. 1.) *The Name of Minister is altogether unknown; which the Ancients would never have understood to be spoken of any but a Deacon; as it is derived indeed from no other Fountain but the Greek Διακονος. But we must pardon you; you must speak the Language of your Church, which hath no Bishops; another kind of Presbyters [Elders they call them] another kind of Deacons; and I add, another kind of Calling than ever the Ancient Church acknowledged. [Calling is sometimes used for the Office, for Ordination never, saith that Prelate, nor doth du Moulin deny it] And in his third Epistle to du Moulin, he saith, It is strange, how it became lawful for French-men to put upon a Presbyter that name, which never any amongst the Ancients used, but for a Deacon. I speak not thus otherwise, but that even among us too, that bad Fashion is taken up, of calling them Ministers and Pastors too. But these words were brought in by them, who best relish any upstart Fashion; but against their mind whose reverence Antiquity; and, as they may disclaim these Usages.*

II. Supposing there were such a Name, yet would not such a Name be more general than that of Apostles; and comprehend not only them, but Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and all such as should labour in the Work of the Ministry of the Gospel?

Every one of the Names signifying a Minister, is attributed to the Apostles, *ἀποστόλοι* and *ἀποστολὴ*, *Acts* 1. 47, 25. *Acts* 6. 4. *Rom.* 11. 13. (and to Angels, *Heb.* 1. 14.) *Antwropos*, *Rom.* 15. 16. (and to Angels, *Heb.* 1. 14.) *ὀφθαλμοί*, *Acts* 25. 16. yea Paul, Apollo and Cephas, as they are called *ἀποστόλοι*, *1 Cor.* 3. 5. Who then is Paul? and who is Apollo? and who is Cephas? but Ministers [*ἀποστολὴ*] by whom we believed? So likewise are they called *ὀφθαλμοί*. *1 Cor.* 4. 1. Let a Man so account of us as of the Ministers [*ἀποστολὴ*] of Christ. In fine, if there be different Ministries, as there are: *1 Cor.* 12. 4. *διακοναὶ διακονῶν* &c. There are differences of Ministries. How come it to pass then, that there are not so now, but the name is appropriated to one?

And is it not an Act of Arrogance in them who would be the Apostles Successors in ordinary, (though by the way it was something extraordinary that made an Apostle, and if that was wanting, then the Person was not an Apostle, but some other Officer: Besides, how did

the Pastors, or Teachers, or Presbyters succeed them who were their Contemporaries, and never resigned up, or deserted their Stations?) Ordinary Embassadors from the most High, to assume a Name of greater Latitude than that of Apostle or Embassador Extraordinary? Or at least, is it not as absurd, as if the Ant should assume the single name of Animal, and the Lacquey that of Servant?

Not only the High-Priests among the Jews, but the Prophets and Levites, upon whom the Office of Teaching lay, were called by the Name of Pastors, *Isa.* 56. 11. *Jer.* 10. 21. & 22. 22. & 23. 1, 2. *Ezek.* 34. 2. *Zach.* 10. 3. and (saith Bishop Andrews to du Moulin, Ep. 3.) 'He that shall accurately con-

‘ consider will find Princes in the State, and
 ‘ Magistrates often, nay oftner a great deal,
 ‘ to be called by the name of Pastors, than
 ‘ all the other put together. Yet do we not
 ‘ call Princes by the name of Pastors. Nor
 ‘ do I think, that at Geneva, he is called a
 ‘ Pastor who is chief Magistrate.

III. *Was not the Name of Minister brought in by the first Reformers, many whereof were Private Christians, who did assume that Title, either because they found themselves not rankable under the Name of any other Evangelical Officers; or in opposition to that Romish Hierarchy and Priesthood, whence the Modern Episcoparians and Presbyterians derive their successive Ordination?*

Whether *Martin Luther* were the first who assumed the Title of *Minister*, and gave it unto others, I am not thoroughly informed: It is not to be denied that there is mention of the *Ministry* and *Ministers*, but that was not (before his time, I think) a distinguishing name of the Office and Officers, but did express their Work; for they were called *Priests*, and were ordained by the *Papistical Bishops* amongst the *Bobemians*; but *Luther* being degraded from being a *Priest*, and an *University Doctor of Divinity*, by the Papal Authority, he (lest he should be destitute of a particular Appellation) assumed the Title of *Ecclesiastes* and *Minister of God's Word* at *Witeberg*. This account he gives of himself in his Book against the Order

*Luther adv.
falso nomin.
ord. episc.
inter. op.
edit. Wite-
berg, l. 2.
f. 306. c. 2.*

of Bishops, falsely so called, which begins thus: *Martin Luth*er, by the Grace of God *Ecclesiastes* (or *Minister of the Church*) at *Witeberge*, unto the Popish Bishops, Grace and Peace and Repentance in Christ.

My Lords,

IF it seem unto you Folly, and a ridiculous Vanity in me, that I call my self by so high and magnificent a Title, as that of *Ecclesiastes* (or *Minister of the Church*) by the Grace of God; know that I do not wonder thereat at all. For it is no new thing for you to condemn the Gospel, to condemn the Ministers of the Word of God. --- Behold (that you may no longer ignore it) I call my self *Ecclesiastes* (or *Minister of the Church* by the Grace of God, and I have honoured my self with this Title, whom you with an Infinity of Revilings call *Heretick*, and (that you may not be ignorant thereof) I do assume unto my self that Title, out of defiance and contempt of you and Satan. And if I should name my self *Evangelist* by the Grace of God, I am sure I could sooner justify my self therein, than you satisfy any of your being Bishops. For I am sure Christ himself doth so name me, and reposes me for an *Ecclesiastes* (or *Minister of the Church*) he (I say) who is the great Master of my Doctrine, and who, I doubt not, will bear me witness at the day of Judgment, that this Doctrine is not mine but God's, and his Spirits. ---

For

' For so much as I, thorough the Wrath of
 ' the Pope and Emperour, am deprived of
 ' all my Titles, and the Character of the Beast,
 ' mentioned in the Revelation, is by several
 ' Bulls taken away from me, so as that I
 ' am no longer stiled Doctor of Divinity, or
 ' any such like Humane and Papistical Crea-
 ' ture. I am not much appalled at the loss
 ' of such Honours; for I was always a-
 ' shamed before God, by reason of such
 ' Couzenage and such Persons; for I was as
 ' you are, a Blasphemer, Hypocrite—but
 ' God having enlightned me thorough his
 ' Mercy, and revealed unto me the know-
 ' ledge of his Son Christ Jesus, so as that I
 ' should preach the Gospel unto others, and in-
 ' structed me in his ways, that I am ascer-
 ' tained of my Doctrines, that they are the
 ' pure Word of God, it did not become me to
 ' be destitute of a Title, whereby I should
 ' commend and set off the Word, and the
 ' Ministry thereof, unto the which I have
 ' been called by God, and which I have not
 ' received from Men, but by the Gift of God,
 ' and the Revelation of the Lord Christ.

To be a Do-
 ctor of Di-
 vinity the
 mark of the
 Beast.

The like is related by Steidan, in his Hi-
 story of those Times at the Year 1522, where
 he says, that Luther wrote a Book against
 the Order of Bishops, falsely so called, in the
 Preface whereto, he did assume, unto himself
 the Title of Minister of the Church at Witte-
 berge *In Prefatione sumit sibi titulum Eccle-*
siaſtæ Wittebergensis, — & ait cognomen hoc
Ecclesiastæ sibi imposuisse ipsum. — & quo-

niam a Deo sibi demandatum sit Evangelii docendi munus, æquum esse ut & ipse sibi titulum sumat, cum falsi doctores ejusmodi fucus ad se sese venditent. —]

IV. *Whether the Name of such as officiated in the first Centuries were not Presbyter, an Elder; and in after-ages, Sacerdos, a Priest? And whether that change were only of Names, or of the Nature of their Office, through the working of the Mystery of Iniquity, aggrandising himself, and turning the Lord's Supper into an Oblation? If the latter be true, where is Succession? How shall it be revived? Is it not in this case, as in the Adoption of Children, where a Lineage fails? Is it a Succession, where there hath been an Intercision and Discontinuance, or rather a Similitude and Resemblance?*

Those which officiated in the Primitive Churches (for the Apostles, saith *Salmasius*, under the name of *Walo Missalinus*, p. 19. are not to be recounted amongst them: It being inconsistent with the Apostleship, to fix in any City or Province, and teach in a settled way the People, without circuiting the World,) by way of Ministers, were at first called Presbyters or Elders; and afterwards, either out of a Compliance with the Jewish Hierarchy, or to allay the Objection of the Heathens, that the Christians were Atheists, having neither Priesthood, Temple, or God, they were advanced to the Dignity of Priests, though the reality thereof was the product of after-times, accordingly as the opi-

opinion of the *Lord's Supper*, being a Sacri-
 fice, did take root. ' The *Waldenses* did not
 ' own any Priesthood at all; and that just-
 ' ly (saith *Salmasius* or *Walo Messalinus*, p. 379.
 ' &c.) there being no such thing as Priests
 ' and Priesthood to be found in the Gospels
 ' or Apostolick Writings. Not the Apo-
 ' stles, nor those whom they set in the
 ' Churches to Rule, neither the one, nor the
 ' other are so called, but *Bishops* or *Presby-*
 ' *ters*. Where there is not so much as the
 ' Name recorded, why should we imagine
 ' the Thing it self to have been. Yea, the
 ' Apostles who first of all divulged the Go-
 ' spel seem to have made it their work, to
 ' abolish the Name and Memory of Jewish
 ' Sacrifices in the Places they converted?
 ' Where there were no Sacrifices, there ought
 ' to be no mention of a Priest or Priesthood.
 ' The name of *Altar* was not heard of in
 ' the Primitive Church established by the
 ' Apostles: It was a Table not Altar, where-
 ' at the Lord's Supper was celebrated and
 ' dispensed. Since therefore it is not read,
 ' that Christ, or his Disciples, who first
 ' planted the new Religion, did ascribe unto
 ' the Ministers, or Propagators thereof, the
 ' Appellation of Priest, but of Bishop and
 ' Presbyter; it is not likely that they would
 ' introduce or fix a Priesthood, however di-
 ' stinguished in Model from that which they
 ' went about to abolish. They were con-
 ' verted from being Jews, whose Laws and
 ' Ceremonies Christ did antiquate. In that
 ' Religion

Religion there were *Priests*, *Higb-priests*
 and *Levites*, whose Office and Ministry
 was so annexed to one Tribe, that it could
 not pass into another. They of other
 Tribes were called *Laicks* and private Per-
 sons, and were thereby distinguished from
 the Progeny of *Aaron*, from amongst those
Laicks were chosen the *Elders of the People*,
 ἄποστολοι τῶ λαοῦ, which were together with
 the *Doctors* and *Masters* in *Israel* (which
 were not limited to be of a Levitical Des-
 cent) to make up the Rulers of Synagogues,
 or Assembly of the People. Now where-
 as Christ might have constituted his Dis-
 ciples according to the Jewish Model, to
 be *Priests*, and so to be called, as who
 were to offer up the Sacrifice of his Body;
 yet he did not do it. He made no *Higb-*
Priests nor other *Priests*, whose Service he
 might use in the Propagation of the Go-
 spel. He called them *Apostles*, or such as
 were sent: An Appellation not unknown
 to the *Jews*, but given to such as being
 Ministers of Synagogues, were sent by the
 Patriarch to collect Monies from several
 Synagogues, which they were to bring
 unto him, *Cod. Theod. leg. 64. de Judæis.*
 The *Jews* term them סליחים *Selichim*.
 That the *Apostles* of the Synagogues had
 under their *Patriarchs* such an Employ-
 ment, *Epiphanius* manifests in his account
 of the History of the *Ebionites*, where he
 speaks of one *Apostle Joseph*, who was
 sent into *Cilicia* by the *Patriarch*, to collect
 the

Mark this
 for no
 Priesthood
 no Tythe.

the Tenth and first Fruits. By this general
 name, and which was usually attributed
 in *Judea* to such like *Messengers*, or *Mitten-*
dary, as the more modern *Latinists* did
 word it, sent Christ his Disciples. He called
 them *Apostles* אפוסטול, a modest and
 humble Title. Nor would he call those
 his *Nuncio's*, or *Ministers* of the word, *Priests*.
 First, because in the new Law there was
 not any need of Sacrifices, which were
 requisite in the Old. And then again, be-
 cause that Name was too stately and mag-
 nificent, and no way agreeing with the
 condition of such as he had elected for
 Disciples, being of an inferior Rank, even
Fishers. But amongst the *Jews*, as also the
Greeks, but especially the *Jews*, the *Priest-*
hood was an ennobling condition; so that
 only the *Priests* were the *Nobility*, the rest
 were esteemed of only as the *Commonalty*
 and private Persons. So *Josephus* in his
 Life, *As amongst all other People there is*
some peculiar Character of the Nobility, so
amongst us that of the Priesthood is received.
 Hence *Clemens* in his Epistle to the *Corin-*
thians, when he had recounted the several
 Orders or Degrees in the *Jewish Hierarchy*,
 made up of *HIGH Priests*, and other *Priests*
 and *Levites*, he terms all the rest *Larks*.
 The same *Clemens*, when he comes to speak
 of such as officiated in Christian Assem-
 blies, he calls nor them *Priests*, *Chief Priests*,
 or *Levites*, but *Deacons*, *Bishops* and *Presby-*
ters, [*διακονας & επισκοπους quos & presbyteros*
 nominat]

[nominat.] for which Names he seeks an
 Original in the Old Testament, in *Isaiab*,
 where they are mentioned. But he did
 not think these Names or Employments
 had any affinity with the *Jewish Priesthood*.
 For as Christ did send his Disciples to
 preach unto the Nations by the Title of
 Apostles, a Name borrowed from the
Jewish Synagogues, so the Apostles, in their
 establishing of Churches, such as they set
 to Rule therein, they stiled Elders or Pres-
 byters, which Appellation they borrowed
 from the *Jewish Presbytery* or *Eldership*. As
 the *Jewish Synagogue* had its *Presbyters* and
Masters or *Doctors*, so the Apostles placed
 in their Churches such an *Eldership*, where-
 in the same should be Pastors and Teachers,
 to rule and instruct the People. As the
Elders and *Doctors* of the *Jews* were *Laicks*,
 nor had any affinity with the *Priests* and
Levites, so the *Christian Elders* and *Bishops*,
 being no *Priests* had no *Sacerdotal Acts*, or
Dignity, whereby to be distinguished from
 the *Laity*. The Administration of the two
 Sacraments appointed by Christ, did not
 render them *Priests*: For *Baptism* might of
 old be administred by *Deacons*, who were
 no *Ecclesiastical Officers*; so *Philip* baptised
 the *Eunuch*, and so for a long time did that
 Custom continue in the Church. Yea *Lay-*
men might Baptise in case of necessity, if
 no *Presbyter* or *Deacon* were present. This
 is evinced by an eminent passage in *Ter-*
tullian's Book of Baptism, which runs thus;
 'The

' The Chief Priest or Bishop hath right to admi-
 ' nister Baptism; and after him, the Presbyters
 ' and Deacons; but yet not without Authority
 ' received from the Bishop, out of regard to the
 ' Honour of the Church, which being preserved
 ' entire, things continue peaceable. Otherwise
 ' [that is, saith Pamelius, if we set aside Con-
 ' siderations of the Honour of the Church]
 ' even Lay-men may Baptise by right; For that
 ' which is equally received, may be equally com-
 ' municated, [of the same Judgment is Jerom]
 ' unless some Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon may be
 ' had, since the Word of the Lord ought not to be
 ' concealed from any. Wherefore Baptism, which
 ' is equally the Treasury of the Lord, may be ad-
 ' ministrated by all. [Mark this, that in his
 ' Judgment all may preach, as well as
 ' Baptise; and that it is but Church-respect
 ' that limits them, not any Gospel Precept
 ' or Inhibition.] But how much more ought
 ' the Laicks to be modest and discreet herein,
 ' since even the greatest are prohibited to usurp
 ' the Office of a Bishop? Emulation is the Mo-
 ' ther of Schisms. The Holy Apostle said, all
 ' things were lawful, but not expedient. Let it
 ' suffice then, that in case of necessity you may
 ' use it, according as the Circumstances of Time,
 ' Place, and Person, require the performance.
 ' You see how it is lawful for Laicks to Bap-
 ' tise in case of necessity, when none in
 ' Orders are present. If this were an Act
 ' peculiar to the Priesthood, as it is a Priest-
 ' hood, it could never be legitimately per-
 ' formed by a Laick; it having never been
 ' lawful

lawful for a private Person to discharge
 any such Act as was properly *Sacerdotal* ;
 nor could necessity ever excuse such At-
 tempts: Which is true according to the
 Rites of the *Gentiles*, as well as *Jews*. But
 a *Bishop* or *Presbyter*, yea and *Deacon* of the
 Christian Church, in that they administered
 the Sacraments of Christ, they did it not
 as *Priests*, but as *Lay men*, chosen out of
 the multitude to perform such and such
 Duties. Thus a Magistrate may do some
 things, which a private Person may not.
Baptism (saith *Tertullian*) as it is the *Trea-*
sury of God, may be administered by any body.
 But that Schism, Emulation and Disorder
 might be taken away, or prevented, some
 out of the Commonalty were elected to
 such Performances. Yet were not they
 thereupon made *Priests*, [or equivalent to
 them] nor were they reputed for such,
 after they had been created by the Apo-
 stles: For they did not propose to them-
 selves the *Jewish Priesthood* for a Pattern,
 much less that of the *Gentiles*. As the *Ma-*
gistrate is so distinguished from the *Popu-*
lace, as to be also distinct from the *Priest-*
hood, he being but a more honourable
 Member of the Multitude: Such was the
 Condition of the *Primitive Presbyters* of the
 Church, who were ordained by the Apo-
 stles. The *Eucharist* or *Lord's Supper* is
 another part of the *Treasury of the Lord*,
 that too was in process of time so admi-
 nistered particularly by the *Presbyters*, as
 they

' they were Presidents in the Church, and
 ' not Priests. Of this the same may be said,
 ' which *Tertullian* avowed of *Baptism*, viz.
 ' *As it is the Treasury of the Lord, it may be*
 ' *diffused by anybody*; and indeed so it was
 ' in its first Institution: And afterwards,
 ' when that Custom was altered, if the
 ' Presbyters were absent, Lay-men did di-
 ' stribute it, and consecrate it, and that law-
 ' fully. Hence in the first Ages, according
 ' to the original Prescript, it was celebrated
 ' after Supper, and that too by each Master
 ' of the Family in his House. *Tertullian* re-
 ' cords it amongst such Rites as had been
 ' introduced by a Deviation from Primitive
 ' Constitutions, that in his time they re-
 ' ceived the Sacrament from the hands of
 ' the Presbyters or Presidents. In his Book
 ' *De Corona*, he saith, *The Sacrament of the*
 ' *Eucharist being enjoined at Supper-time, and*
 ' *unto all, by the Lord; even in our Assemblies*
 ' *before day-break, do we receive, and that from*
 ' *no other hand than the Presidents.* In the
 ' *African Church*, that there might continue
 ' some Memorials of the Ancient Practice,
 ' anniversary on a certain day after Supper,
 ' they did communicate, and did in reality
 ' celebrate the *Lord's Supper*. In many places
 ' of Egypt, saith *Sozomen*, they assembled to-
 ' gether on the Sabbath in the Church,
 ' and did partake of the *Lord's Supper*, Παρε-
 ' ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν πολλὰς πόλεσι καὶ καμῖσι, παρὰ τὸ
 ' κατὰ πάσι νομιζόμενον, πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὸ σάββατον
 ' συνιόντες ἡρώδης ἢ ὅτι μυστήριον μετέχουσιν. In

Cod. Afric.
 Can. 41.

Several

several Towns and Villages of the Egyptians,
 contrary to the Custom generally received, in
 the Evening of the Sabbath, they having supped
 already [so Salmasius renders it, *jam canati*]
 assemble and receive the Sacrament. The
 Laicks did also consecrate and dispence it
 to themselves, if the Presbyter or Presi-
 dent were not in the way. Of this we
 have a pregnant Testimony in Tertullian's
 Exhortation to his Wife, which is basely cor-
 rupted in former Editions: Are not we of
 the Laity Priests? It is written, He hath made
 us Kings and Priests to God and his Father.
 The difference betwixt Pastors and People [*in-
 ter ordinem & plebem*] is but a Constitution
 of the Church, not of any higher authoritative
 Appointment, and an Honour which owes its
 Sanctity to the Ecclesiastical Session. Where-
 fore if there be no Ecclesiastical Order, you
 Baptise, you Communicate, and you are a Priest
 unto your self alone. But where there are Three,
 there is a Church, though of Lay-men. Yea,
 the Name of Church is attributed to the
 Assembly of the Faithful, as contra-distinct
 to their Pastors, even in the Acts of the
 Apostles, and the Constitutions of the
 Pseudo-Clemens. In Church-polity the Pres-
 byters and Laity [*ordo & plebs*] were so di-
 stinguish'd, as in the Civil Government of
 the Gentiles were [*ordo & plebs*] the Senate
 and People. And this distinction betwixt
 the Governours and Governed, [*inter ordi-
 nem Ecclesiasticum & plebem*] was nor, in
 the Judgment of Tertullian, of Divine In-
 stitution,

stitution, but the Appointment of the Church. The same Writer (as well as Ambrose, Jerom and Austin) in the fore-mentioned passage out of his Book of Baptism, avoweth that it was from the same reason that Bishops came to be superior to Presbyters, *propter Ecclesiae honorem; quo salvo, salva pax est.* Thus it is his Judgment [who was one of the most Learned, as well as Ancient Fathers] that the whole Ecclesiastical Order was a thing not of Divine, but Humane Constitution. But however the Order of Clergy and Laity (for the Greek Councils term the Laity an Order) are not so distinct as Priests and People, but as Prefects or Rulers, and those that are under Government. Doth Ordination, that is, Imposition of Hands, by which they are ordained, or ranked in order [in ordinem co-optantur] make them Priests? No, not at all, let them talk what they will of a Sacrament of Order; neither do they which confer it, confer it as Priests, nor are the Receivers by virtue of such Collation made Priests. There is not any Sacrament of Christ, the Administration whereof doth qualifie a Priest, because Christ instituted no Priesthood, nor did he constitute them Priests with whom he intrusted his Church. He ordained Apostles, and denominated them so from their being sent. The Apostles did afterwards ordain Presbyters or Bishops to rule and instruct the People. There was no

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need

need of *Priests* to perform the Sacred Rites
 and Solemnities, after the Jewish Sacrifices
 are abolished, and those of the *Gentiles* dis-
 used. *Ordination* is the *Act* it self, where-
 by through certain Ceremonies and Rites,
 one is chosen and elected into an Order
 [*ordinem*] to be a Member of that Order,
 Body or Colledge into which he is chosen.
 An Order [*ordo*] is a certain number of
 Men which make up one Body or Colledge,
 each one obtaining place in the said Body
 accordingly as he was admitted; he who
 was first chosen, being the first; who second,
 second; and who last, being last. Hence
 came the Appellation of Order [*Ordo*.]
 Nor is there any Body, Colledge or So-
 ciety, which may not upon this account
 be termed an Order, [*Ordo*] or hath not
 been so. But sometimes by way of *Emi-
 nence*, καὶ ἐξουίᾳ, the principal Order or
 Colledge in the Republick, or City, was
 called the *Senatorial* Order, and so distin-
 guished from the People. Thus in the
 Church, the *Senate* or Colledge of *Presbyters*,
 amongst whom the *Bishop* did preside, was
 termed an Order, or the Order, as appears
 by that passage of *Tertullian* already cited,
inter ordinem & plebem. Otherwise all the
Bishops made up their own Order, after that
 they became distinct and superior to the
Presbyters: The *Presbyters* they constituted
 the second Order: The *Deacons* they did
 also make up their Order; and so forth,
 even to the *Door-keepers*. The People had
 their

' their distinct Order from these other Ec-
 ' cleastical ones, they being *one Body*, and
 ' frequently stiled in the *Greek Councils*, the
 ' *Lay-order*, λαϊκὸν τάγμα. The Prophets,
 ' whilst they lived in the Primitive Times,
 ' they made up the *Prophetical Order*, where-
 ' of mention is found in *Ruffinus*. From what
 ' hath been said, it is manifest to every one,
 ' how *besotted* they were, who from *Ordina-*
 ' *tion* introduced a *Sacrament of Order*, or
 ' *Orders*; whence proceeded those foolish
 ' and ridiculous Forms of Speech, *To take*
 ' or *enter into Orders*; Expressions not to be
 ' found in purer Times, when Men were
 ' said to be chosen, or admitted into the
 ' Order, or the like, at such time as they
 ' were Ordained, that is, admitted to a place
 ' in this or that Order. Now all *Ordinations*,
 ' Civil or Ecclesiastical, amongst *Jews* and
 ' *Heathens*, were performed with certain
 ' Rites and Ceremonies: The *Christians* did
 ' derive theirs, which they used at the Or-
 ' dination of *Presbyters* or *Bishops*, from the
 ' *Jews*: For they did ordain the *Elders* or
 ' *Presbyters* of their Synagogue, and the
 ' *Doctors* of their Law, by Imposition of
 ' Hands; which was called סמיכה *Semicha*,
 ' that is, χειροθεσία, *laying on of Hands*. This
 ' in the Old and New Testament, was used
 ' for the conferring of the Holy Ghost:
 ' *Imposition of Hands* was likewise used for
 ' the promoting Men to the Degree of *Rab-*
 ' *bines* or *Doctors*: And at the Collation of
 ' Juridical Power. From hence sprang that
 ' Custom

Custom in the Church of Christ, that
 when any were designed to any publick
 Ministry or Magistry in the Church, they
 were so designed by this Jewish *Semicha*,
 or *Imposition of Hands*. And this Imposi-
 tion of Hands, howbeit it were of Divine
 Right; yet such as were designed to a pu-
 blick Magistry or Ministry, to teach, rule,
 or serve in the Church, were not there-
 upon made Priests. In *Jury* it was per-
 formed by Three. In *Codice Sanedrin*, Cap. 1.
 סמיכה וקנין it is rendered χειροτονια
 πρεσβυτερων, the laying on of Hands of the El-
 ders, and is said to be performed by Three.
 From whence it is, that in the Apostolick
 Canons and Constitutions of *Clements*, it is
 appointed that a Bishop be ordained by
 Three. But the fourth Canon of the first
 Synod doth enact, that a Bishop be or-
 dained at least by Three, if all the other
 Bishops of the Province cannot be present.
 It is called in *Codice Sanedrin*, *ἔκδοσις τῶν*
χειρῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, or the laying on of the
 Hands of the Elders. Paul, 1 Tim. 4. 14 calls
 it, *ἔκδοσις τῶν χειρῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, the lay-
 ing on of the Hands of the Presbytery, or Elder-
 ship, which is all one. Since therefore that
 solemn Imposition of Hands among the Jews,
 when they created the Elders of the Syna-
 gogue, or Doctors, did not make them
 Priests, but only gave them Authority to
 Judge and Teach the People: So neither
 did the Laying on of Hands, which out of
 Imitation of them was used among the
 Christians,

Christians, to create *Presbyters* and *Teachers*,
 imprint on them a *Sacerdotal Character*.
 Even in the Old Testament, as well as New,
 the Holy Ghost was conferred by Imposi-
 tion of Hands: Thus *Joshua* the Son of
Nun was filled with the Holy Ghost, after
Moses had laid his Hands on him, *Deut.* 34. 9.
 And other Examples there are in Scrip-
 ture. The Name of *Priest*, as it was ascri-
 bed to the *Christian Presbyters*, and that of
Chief Priests, to be distinct from the *Laity*,
 was introduced in the second Century,
 and in the Age after the Apostles. For
 when many came over from Heathenism
 to Christianity, and several of the *Jews*
 were converted, both of which, in the Re-
 ligion which they deserted, had been in-
 sured to *Priests* and *Chief Priests*; it was easie
 for them so to accommodate things, that
 in their newly-embraced Religion they
 should either find or create *Priests*, espe-
 cially in Name. And indeed they did ra-
 ther create them, for there were none at
 first amongst the *Christians*. Nor was this
 change of Names opposed by such as re-
 ceived the Converts, that so they might
 gain more and more upon the *Jews* and
Gentiles, chiefly seeing the whole Contro-
 versie seemed to be but a Word or Name-
 quarrel. They did little think that such
 temporizing and compliance in words,
 would at last beget an Alteration in the
 things themselves. That which they then
 called a *Sacrifice*, was not esteemed of as a

' real and propitiatory one: Whom they
 ' called *Priests*, then were not reputed *truly*
 ' such, nor of a resembling Appointment
 ' to what was amongst the *Jews*. What
 ' they called *Altars*, were not deemed pa-
 ' rallel to what the Heathenish Rites and
 ' Sacrifices were performed at. In a word,
 ' after some space of time, as all things de-
 ' generate, so Men in the Christian Church
 ' began to think of real Altars, real Sacri-
 ' fices, real Priests, no less than the *Jews* or
 ' *Heathens*. Thereupon the Imposition of
 ' Hands, whereby they were ordained
 ' *Priests*, was held as a great *Sacrament*. The
 ' *Priests* began so to be distinguished from
 ' the *Laicks*, as the *Priests* and *Commonalty*
 ' amongst the *Jews*. In the Time of *Cle-*
 ' *ment*, this distinction betwixt the Sacer-
 ' dotal Order and Laity, was not intro-
 ' duced among *Christians*, being a distinction
 ' purely *Jewish*. He tells them at *Corinth*,
 ' that the Apostles did constitute in the
 ' Church *Bishops* and *Deacons*, and that not
 ' by any very extraordinary Dispensation,
 ' it having been long foretold in Scrip-
 ' ture, *καταστήσω τὰς ἐπισκόπους ἐν δικαίῳ μὴ, καὶ*
 ' *τὰς διακόνους αὐτοῦ ἐν πίστει*. I will appoint their
 ' *Bishops* in *Justice*, and their *Ministers* in
 ' *Faith*. If there had been any resemblance
 ' betwixt the Christian Bishops, and those
 ' of the *Jews*, he would have had re-
 ' course to the *Jewish Hierarchy*, and not
 ' to those *Bishops* and *Ministers* in *Isaiab*,
 ' that had no affinity with the former.
 ' The

' The *Bishops* and *Presbyters* in those days
 ' were so far *Laicks*, as to be esteemed only
 ' the more honourable part of the People:
 ' And therefore it was, that several *Lay*
 ' men were chosen to be *Presbyters* and
 ' *Bishops*, without being promoted gradu-
 ' ally thorough the inferior Orders. And
 ' that Custom did continue long in the
 ' Church. Thus *Ambrose* at *Millain*, *Nesta-*
 ' *tus* at *Constantinople*, and some-body else
 ' in *Syriaca*, all which had been civilly em-
 ' ployed. And it is evident out of *Leo's*
 ' Epistle, that this was the Custom in sever-
 ' al places of *Italy*, which he went about
 ' to abolish—These things being so (saith
 ' *Salmasius* to *Petavius*) why do you cen-
 ' sure *Luther* and the *Waldenses*, because
 ' they denied all manner of *Priesthood*, be-
 ' lieving, that an honest believing *Lay-*
 ' man might perform all those things and
 ' Ecclesiastical Duties in the Church of
 ' God, having been impowered thereunto
 ' by Imposition of Hands from the *Pres-*
 ' bytery, that is a *Lay-call* and not Eccle-
 ' siastical *Senate*? Certainly *Peter*, by whose
 ' Authority he proved his Assertion, did
 ' say that all *Lay-men* were *Priests*: And
 ' styles the Christians universally (all that are
 ' to be living Stones in Christ) a *Royal and*
 ' *Holy Priesthood*.

See what the
 Judgment of
Luther was
 hereafter.

From all this that hath been said by the
 most learned *Salmasius* (though even *Bellar-*
mine himself confessed that such as served
 Christ in the Ministry of the Gospel amongst

the first Christians, were not of a long time called *Priests*, but *Presbyters*) it is evident that there was a change of Names, and that the aforesaid change of Names did introduce a change in the substantial part of their *Function*; they who at first were looked upon only as *Lay-men*, maintained by the free contribution of the Believers, whose Office was meerly a *procuration*, not a *Dignity*, *Magistracy*, or *Authority*, or *Power* (as *Salmasius* proves at large throughout the sixth chapter of *Walo Messalinus*: As also doth the well-read Bishop of *Spalato*, where he deprives them of all *Jurisdiction*) these afterwards became, as well as were termed, *Priests*, as were *Aaron and his Sons*, together with the *Levites amongst the Jews in the Temple*; such were, and the same quality did the *Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons challenge in the Church*: Yea after-times gave them their *Courts and Apparitours*. Tithes became claimed and granted upon a *Divine Right*, and they who before were the *Peoples Creatures*, such as they did *Elect*, and could *Depose or Excommunicate*, and who could perform no *Church-act* without them, their employment being to oversee, not in a *Compulsive*, but *Voluntary*

Petrus omnem jurisdictionem admittit Episcopis, ubi officium eorum vult esse τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖν. ἢ ἀρχιμαστῆρ, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησιᾶς, hoc fit v. lentibus precipiendo quod eis canducat, & consulendo, non jubendo quod libere imperanti, nec cogendo nolentes. Jurisdictio omnis ἀρχιμαστῆρ est. yvalo Messalin. c. 8. p. 460.

Way, 1 Pet. 5. 2. *Dignity, Authority, Magistratical Power*, were so much insisted on, as if he that desired a *Bishoprick*, had not desired a *Work*, a good *Work*; but an office with *Jurisdiction*;

Jurisdiction: And the People were totally deprived in their right in the Governance of the Church. After that things have continued in this posture 1400 Years, for Men to start up, and without any new Power collated on them, to pretend to re-establish the *primitive* Presbytery, is such an attempt as could not enter into the thoughts of considering Men. There may be a resemblance betwixt the *Altar at Damascus* and that at *Jerusalem*, but they are not the same. The example of the *Levites in Israel*, if they reform from Idolatry, avails not here; because the Priesthood to them was a *Birth-right*, and did not depend upon Institution: The Descendants of *Aaron*, though consecrated Priests to *Moloch* or *Baal*, did not cease to be *Levites*; but it is not so with *Presbyters*: Or, suppose it were so with them who had been once *rightly* constituted, What is that to them who never were so? Can they give a power which they never had? Can they exercise a power which they never receiv'd? If out of Scripture it be proved that *Mast-Priests should be Presbyters*; out of their *Officialls* it is clear that they are not so: And consequently, in order to the discharge of such a Function, they are private Persons: And if they who ordained them were such, the Ordained could receive no other Institution than to be the *equivocating Generation* of *equivocal Parents*. But if we must have *primitive Presbyters*, what means the claim for *Jurisdiction*? Where is the power of the People

People to Elect? Where is their volunt-

*Bona against Saravia (animadv.
in c. 11.) at the name of the Clergy
cryeth out, Quam istum in Ecclesiis
reformatis Clerum nunc esse defini-
emus? Nam aliquando dicitur turbam,
qui ex Papistis illius Cleri, ac præ-
sertim ex Sacrificulorum, quos falso
nomine Presbyteros appellant, sen-
tina emerferint? VWhom shall we
call the Clergy among the reformed
Churches? Is it that Rabble-root
which came over from that Popish
Clergy, and the number of those
Priests who are falsely termed Presby-
ters?*

ary Maintenance? What
do we with an enforced
Maintenance of Tithes?
Which, if they are due
by the Law of Nature to
the Priesthood, What a-
vaileth this them who are
none? I desire them, who
allow a succession dedu-
ced thorough Popery, to
consider what God says
by the Prophet Ezekiel,

ch. 44 v. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. *The Le-
vites (who were such by Birth, and not
personal appointment) that are gone away
far from me, when Israel went astray, which
went astray after their Idols, they shall even bear
their Iniquity. Yet they shall be Ministers in my
Sanctuary, having charge at the Gates of the
House, and ministering to the House: They shall
slay the Burnt-offering, and the Sacrifice for the
People, and they shall stand before them to mini-
ster unto them. Because they ministred unto them
before their Idols, and caused the House of Israel
to fall into Iniquity: Therefore have I lifted up
mine hand against them, saith the Lord God,
and they shall bear their Iniquity. And they shall
not come near unto me to do the office of a Priest
unto me, nor to come near unto any of my Holy
Things, in the most Holy Place; But they shall
bear their Shame, and their Abominations which
they have committed. But I will make them
keepers of the charge of the House for all the ser-
vice*

vice thereof, and for all that shall be done therein. But the Priests, the Levites, the Sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my Sanctuary, when the Children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me; and they shall stand before me, to offer unto me the Fat, and the Blood, saith the Lord God. They shall enter into my Sanctuary, and they shall come near to my Table, to minister unto me, and they shall keep my charge. Conformable hereunto was the practise of good Josiah, 2 Kings 23. v. 9. After that he had extirpated Idolatry, and re-established the worship of God. The Priests of the High-places (notwithstanding what of plea our Ministers suggests for them, and whereof Josiah could not be ignorant) they came not up to the Altar of the Lord in Jerusalem, but they did eat of the unleavened bread amongst their Brethren.

Though, setting aside this last consideration, I never think of the Ordination by laying on of hands insignificantly, continued now amongst the Presbyterians and Episcoparians, but I remember a passage of Montague about Titus, c. 3. p. 438: 'How Hercules was enfranchised amongst the Gods, and born by Juno again, as Diodore relateth (in some such sort, as amongst us, the Children of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swinford, are said to have been made legitimate by Act of Parliament) by a solemn ceremony, he coming from under Juno's Clothes.

V. *Whether the present Ministry (supposing them to be generally Presbyterians or Episcoparians) do not pretend to be Ministers of the Church Catholick? Whether there be any mention of such a Church in Scripture, or in any Ancient Creed of the first Ages? And whether Luther did not place instead thereof, in his Creed, the Christian Church? Whether any body can tell what is the determinate meaning of that word? Whether the Ordainers and Ordained now a-days deal conscientiously in giving or receiving, and acting really by vertue of a power from, and over the Catholick Church, whilst the existence and signification thereof is so controverted amongst themselves and others?*

To say nothing of the *Episcopal Divines*, that the most insupportable *Presbyterian* makes this to be his claim, it is evident not only from Dr. *John Wallis* (Sub-Scribe in the *Westminster Assembly*) in his *Thesis* of the power of a Minister out of his particular Congregation: But also from the Contest betwixt the *Independent Ministers* of *Suffolk*, and Dr. *Collins* of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Pool* of *London*, who writes at the appointment of the provincial *Assembly* there, in whose late Books, against each other, this Question is largely debated concerning *Ministers* being proximately related to a *Catholick Church*, and with great advantage on the side of the *Congregational Men* in *Suffolk*. That there is no mention of a *Catholick Church* in Scripture, it is clear, no *Concordance* hitherto could shew it: And it is very strange that the

the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures (which are able to make the Man of God perfect unto every good Word, no less than Work) should not once mention this visible Catholick Church, neither directly, nor by any equipollent Terms: That in the good thing which was committed unto *Timothy*, and in that Form of sound words which he had heard from *Paul*, and which he was to hold fast, there should not be any slight Intimation or Record thereof, renders its Existence very suspicious: Especially *Timothy* (according to the Fancy of the *Presbyterians*) being a Minister, and consequently participating of this Delegacy over the Catholick Church, and his immediate and most considerable Relation being thereunto, the Station he held in *Crete* being only Secondary: That *Paul* should tell the Elders of the Church at *Ephesus*, that he had kept back nothing which was profitable unto them; That he had not shunned to declare unto them all the Counsel of God, and yet should only bid them take heed unto themselves, and to all the Flock (not throughout the World, but at *Ephesus*) over which the Holy Ghost had made them Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he had purchased with his Blood: All which the ensuing words evince to appertain to the particular Church of *Ephesus*, whereof (and not of the Catholick Church) they are called Elders, v. 17.) This creates in me an Apprehension that this Catholick Church, and Catholick-Church-Ministry, is neither a part of the Counsel

2 Tim. 3.
16, 17.

2 Tim. 1.
13, 14.

Acts 20. 28,
27, 28.

1. 1. 1. 1.
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1. 1. 1. 1.

Counsel of God, nor profitable to be known. That it is as little to be found in the ancient Creeds as in the Scripture, you may not only learn from Bishop *Usher* in his Treatise of the Creeds, p. 8, 9, 12. in several Copies, but more fully from *Vossius* in his Discourse of the Three Creeds, p. 27. §. 39. 'The Aquilegian Creed hath not the word Catholick, yet it is added thereto in the Edition of *Pamalius*--but wrongfully, for the ancientest Books read it otherwise. And if *Ruffinus* had owned it, he had explained it, for it is not a passage of slight moment. But what wonder is it if it be not in *Ruffinus*, seeing *Austin* had it not? Who in his Explanation of the Creed, when he comes to the passage of Holy Church, he adds for Illustration sake, To wit, the Catholick. And that is understood by Holy, there being none Holy, but the Catholick. Nay in the Apostles time it was not the Custom for Christians to be called Catholicks. As *Pacianus* wrote it in a Letter to *Symphorianus*, who lived in the time of *Jerom*. Whence [our English] *Whitaker*, in his Book of the Church, did collect, that the Appellation of the Catholick Church, was not used in the Apostolical times. Yea, and *Franciscus Picus* did think that the Clause of the Church Catholick was introduced after the Nicene Creed, by way of opposition to the Hereticks and Schismatics: Who, whatever Truth they held, did not possess (or were made to believe so) that Univer-

sality

sality of Mankind, whereunto the others pretended. *Luther* is charged by the *Papists* to have placed instead thereof the word *Christian*, in his little *Catechism*, fol. 12. and in the great *Catechism*, fol. 64. as it is in the *Body of the Doctrine of the Saxon Churches*, published by *John Willeram Duke of Saxony* at *Jena* 1570. the *Heirs of Christian*

It is acknowledged that *Luther* could not endure the Name of *Catholic*, in so much as if that word were found in his *Writings* with Approbation, the Book or Passage was thereupon suspected by his *Scholars*, as not being his. See *Colloqu. Altemberg.* in resp. ad accus. Cor. 2. fol. 254. as *Brevetly* in his *Protestants Apology* doth cite it.

Rodinger printing it, Repeating it *Eine Heilige Christliche Kirche*. Nor is this said to have been denied by *Chemnitius*, in *Gerard's Common places of Divinity*, but that he replied to that Accusation, how *Luther* was not the first who made that Variation, but that before his time the *German Creed* had it usually *Ich glaube eine heilige Christliche Kirche*, *I believe one Holy Church*.

Balth. Meissneri de Eccles. p. 314. Gerard. loc. Theolog. in fol. 2. 5. de Ecclesia, c. 4. Sect. 34.

As for the signification or meaning of the word, it is very ambiguous. Three principal Grounds are given, why the Church should be termed *Universal* or *Catholic*: First, From its *Universality of place*, it being diffused throughout the whole Earth. Secondly, From its *Universality of Duration*, it being to continue unto the end of the World. Thirdly, From the *Universality of Persons* thereunto appertaining, of all Sexes, Ages and Conditions. Other less material grounds, are from its being *Universally known*, from the *Universal Learning* it is professed

professed thereby, respecting God and the
 Creatures, things visible and invisible. From
 the *Universality of its Spiritual Care*, as to all
 manner of Sins. And lastly, From its *re-*
spective Universality, in regard of the *Jews*
and Hereticks; the former being restrained
 to *Palestine*, and the latter being never like-
 ly to grow so numerous, but that the *true*
Church shall exceed them, though not in re-
 gard of some particular Country, yet in re-
 spect of the whole World. The *Universa-*
lity of the Church upon the Papistical grounds
 aforesaid, is audited by *Balthasar Maisnerus*,
 in his Book of the Church, *Seet. 4. c. 3.* whi-
 ther I remit the Reader, being loth to
 trouble my self with idle Enquiries. I only
 observe, that since words do not signifie
 naturally, but by the Institution of Man, in
 whose Language God is pleased to deliver
 himself: Since we cannot know what the
 meaning and intent of him or them was,
 who first imposed that Name, (which it is
 evident we cannot, it being not known who
 introduced it, or when it began to be used)
 all that we can do, is to know how this
 Appellation of Humane Original, if it must
 be retained, may be verified. The general
 meaning of the first Reformers was, That
 the Catholick Church of Christ was made
 up of his Elect, that had been, were, or
 should be, to the end of the World. Hence
Luther saith, the Holy Church in the Creed
 is invisible, and hid in the Spirit, and only
 believed, not seen. So the Learned and
 Judicious

Luther de
abrog. miss.
privat. inter
op. Witte-
berg. l. 2. f.

Judicious *Sadeel* against *Turrianus's* Sophisms
 (p. 566; *Oper. in Fol.*) 'We, by the Name
 of one Catholick Church, understand the
 'Invisible Church of the Elect, whose Head is
 'Christ; and we presume upon certain
 'Testimonies in Scripture, *Colos. 1. Ephes. 4*
 'and 5, &c. And, if we will speak pro-
 'perly, then will the Church Catholick be
 'compleat, when Christ shall come to judge
 'the Quick and the Dead.— And in his
 Animadversions upon the Articles of the
 Monks of *Bourdeaux*; he saith, The Catholick
 Church consists only of the Faithful and
 Elect, and that it is Invisible, as compre-
 hending the Saints in Heaven. For do not
 they belong to the Catholick Church? If
 so, then you must either make two Catho-
 lick Churches (contrary to the *Nicene Creed*,
 of one Catholick and Apostolick Church) one Vi-
 sible, the other Invisible; or confess that that
 which is one, is invisible. He tells us there,
 and elsewhere, that particular Churches are
 one only by Religion, and Profession of the
 same Doctrine, they are otherwise Individ-
 uals, of which the Name of Church is pre-
 dicated, as the Church of *Corinth, Ephesus,*
Philippi, &c. These, he saith, are visible
 Churches, because they retain the exterior
 Order and Face of Churches; they are
 made up of Believers and Unbelievers, and
 are called Churches of Christ, only from the
 mixture of the Elect, and their Profession of
 him. In the Controversie, now in England
 on foot, besides the terming the Christian
 Church,

Vide Sibrin-
dum Liber-
tum de Ec-
clesia, l. 2.
c. 6. p. 82.
 &c.

Anton. Sa-
deel, p. 523.

Church, *Catholick*, in opposition to the *Jewish Church*, which was confined to *Palestine*, whilst this may subsist any where. (In which signification *Catholicism* may be attributed to *Paganism* or *Mahometanism*; and *Christian Catholicism* to any Church, *Socinian*, *Popish*, *Anabaptistical*, or otherwise opinionated, professing *Christ*, in a way which they do avow for Truth, though others call it *Heretic*) or taking it for the *Universality* of *Christians* scattered over the face of the whole Earth (in which sense *Catholick* is *terminus minuens*, or a term which overthrows the subject upon which it is predicated; for since a Church is, by general acknowledgment, a *Congregation of Men thus and thus regulated*; a *Catholick Church*, in the sense specified, is *no Church*, but one that is scattered and unchurched; and a *Minister* of such a Church, would be like a *Jew* in *Amsterdam*, who should pretend to be, or ordain an *Officer* for the *Ten Tribes*, carried into Captivity no body knows where. Besides these Acceptations, there are two more commonly insisted on; *The one*, that the *Catholick Church* is an universal Term in *Logick*, and the *Ministers* are *Ministers* of such a Church. This is the Judgment of *Dr. Collins* of *Norwich*, in his *Discourse* of the *Ministry*, as it is reported by his *Antagonists* of *Suffolk*, in the *Defence* of their *Preface* to the *Preacher Sent*. But as this is denied and refuted by them very well, so it is rejected by *Mr. Hudson*, a *Presbyterian*, as they likewise

likewise say. However it is Non-sence; For if the Church be such an Universal, and such Universals do only subsist in Particulars, (being, *aut nihil, aut quid posterius*) the Presbyterians do very ill to ordain Ministers of an Universal Church, that they may be after preferred to Particular ones, for they ought rather to ordain Ministers of Particular Churches, that so they might be found within the compass of the Imaginary Universality, which is either nothing but a word (and so they only Nominal Ministers) or else only an Essential Similitude or Resemblance berwixt one Church Particular and another; and so they who are no Ministers of a Particular Church, participate not of this Catholicism: And likewise they who are Ministers of such a Particular Church, have no power beyond that Church, by vertue of their Ministry, which is not Catholick, though their Churches be. Another acceptation of the word amongst us, is, That the severall Churches professing Christ, make up one Body of Christ, of which he is Head, and they his Stewards, actually confined to one Church, but authoritatively designed to all: So that every Presbyterian Minister is by his Ordination constituted a Pope, an Universal Ministerial Head of the Church, by way of Divine Mission; but by way of Prudential and Humane Condescension, they are content to admit of a Government shut up within Parochial Precincts. But if this be so, if by vertue of

that Delegation, *As the Father sent me, so send I you*; they have so universal a Mission every one to the whole Body of Christ, I do not see how in Conscience they can sit down with these narrow Boundaries (they being able to extend their Preaching further, as often as the usual Allotments do not afford sufficient Maintenance for their Luxury, which is visible in their Pluralities, and Incorporations of Parishes) since Christ seems to argue them into another Practise, *Luke 4 42, 43, 44. And when it was day he departed, and went into a desert place: And the People sought him, and came unto him and stayed him, that he should not depart from them. And he said unto them, I MUST preach the Kingdom of God to OTHER Cities also: for THEREFORE am I sent. And he preached in the Synagogues of Galilee.* But to proceed: It is evident that all this Plea is meer Coufenance: For first, It is not imaginable what Union intercedes betwixt the several Churches professing Christ upon the face of the Earth: It is not known how far there is a Doctrinal Union or Consent among them, and if it were, yet would not that render them one visible Body, no more than the Book of the *Harmony of the Confessions of the Reformed Churches*, doth embody them; for Identity of Laws, or way of living, doth not make two Republicks to be one; since *Norimberg* in *Germany* is said to have sent to *Valenciennes* in *Flanders*, and to have derived its Platform of Government thence;

thence; yet did not it thereby incorporate
 it self with *Valencientes*, no more than *Rome*
 became a part of *Greece*, when they seith'd
 thence their *Laws* of the *Twelve Tables*: So
 several *Colledges* in *Okon*, have the same
Statutes and Form of Government, yet do
 they not thereby become one *Colledge*:
 Nor in any of these cases is it said, that the
Officers chosen here, or there, are *Universal*
Officers, or *Officers* to the several *Patties* re-
 sembling. A common Meeting of all *Chri-*
stians at the *Throne of Grace*, is as weak a
Proof to the effecting of an *Union*, as of a
Visibility. For he who shall consider (not
 only that this is an *invisible Meeting*, and
 only of the *Elect*, the Expression is war-
 rantable from *Scripture*, but) that in the
 difference of *Climates*, varying accordingly
Nights and *Days* and times of *Worship*, it
 is impossible there should be any joint
 Meeting at the *Throne of Grace*, of these
 several *Churches* in several *Situations*, will
 never grant such parcel Meetings to be an
 universal Assembly; much less that this is
 the Act of an *Organical Body*, it not being
 done by any mutual *Entercourse*, *Corre-*
spondence, or *Appointment*, no nor *Know-*
ledge of each other: Now it is certain, that
 in an *Organical* (or indeed any *Integral*)
Body, the *Parts* have no determinate parti-
 cular Acts of their own; no part doth this,
 or that, but the whole doth this or that by
 the part, *Actiones sunt Suppositorum*. And
 when any part is in such a Condition, that

its own *Archieus* (as I may call it) doth form its Operation; then it is but equivocally a part, no though joyned to the whole by Colligation, as in a rotten Bough, or gangrened Leg. In a word, since the Universal Church pretended, hath no Officers acting in an Universal way, nor is visible in it self by any Universal Actings, I leave these conceited Ministers of an ideared Church, to perswade us (for there is as good reason) that all the Kingdoms of the Earth are one Universal Kingdom, and that the Kings of *Spain, France, &c.* are Primarily Kings (or what name else they will afford them) of the Universal Kingdom, and Secondarily of the Kingdoms specified. He that will further enquire into this Controversie, may satisfie himself in the *Suffolk Ministers Preacher Sent*, and their late Defence thereof. But it is further considerable, that all particular Churches are only Churches of Christ by Profession, not by any Relation to him, as *Spouse, Flock, or Body*: These are Assemblies of a mix'd Nature, Fields in which the Tares grow up with the Corn; Bodies wherein corrupt (however disguised) Humours and Excrements are contained, and some whereof shall never have any part in that Church which is (according to God's Predestination and Intent) without Spot, and without Wrinkle.

- Their Combination or right of Assembling, is founded in Nature, not any new command of Christ, and hath no other rise than

than the Heathen Worship had; Examples are no Institutions; and those general Precepts, of *doing all things according to Order, Decency, for the Glory of God, and Edification of others*, these are but the Dictates of Nature transcribed into the written Word of God. For if it were otherwise (to pass by the Arguments used by the Reformed Divines against *Bellarmino*; that the Church, which is the Mystical Body of Christ, consists only of the Predestinate) however conjugal Relations, or the like, should not multiply in Christ, yet would it be undeniable that such a number of particular Churches would increase to a multitude of Spouses, Bodies, &c. Yet doth the Scripture never mention more Mystical Bodies, &c. than one, though many Churches be mentioned, as *Corinth, Ephesus*, and those others in *Asia*.

Vld. Sibrand.
Lubbert. de
Ecccl. l. 2. c. 6.
p. 82. &c.

VI. *Whether Ecclesia (which is a word signifying a Church) be not a Law-term deduced from Free-States, in which Common-wealths the supreme popular Assembly acted and organised by the Archon and Proedri (as a Church form'd and Presbyterated by a Minister and Elders) which did not Rule but Preside?*
(a) *Whether any other sense but that, can be a Foundation of Argument? since no Term can be the subject of a rational Discourse, whose meaning is not agreed on; but of a figurative Speech, no Man (none but the Spirit that gave it out at first) can determine satisfactorily to*

others, how far the Analogy extends; how far the Cords may be stretched, and what is the just and full Scope of the Holy Spirit there.

(a) This is so evident, that he must not have conversed in any Greek Story, who denies it. They who have not read *Thucydides*, nor *Aristophanes*, may lispise themselves about it out of *Sigoni de Rep. Athen.* and *Ubbi Emmius. deus Gratia Illustrata*.

VII. Whether such a Sense of the Word *Ecclesia*, or Church, doth not Un-Church all the Parochial Churches in England, and Un-Minister all their Ministers.

As for the Unchurcing the Parochial Churches, it is no such strange thing, the Independents have done it over and over, particularly Dr. Owen in his Book of *Selfism*, where he sheweth them to be of *Humane Institution*, and calls (if we may believe Mr. Cawdrey) their Ministers, *Parish-Priests*: He overthroweth their *Succession*, as it is derived from or thorough the *Papacy*; and acknowledgeth them to be *Ministers of Christ* upon another account only, than they will own, viz. The Call of some of their Parish, to whom only they are (in his Judgment) *Pastors*; and to the others but *Lecturers*. One would have thought this Man should not have of late contended so earnestly in the behalf of *Tythes* and *Tythe-taking Ministry*, against whom he had so vigorously disputed; it had not become him to connive,

in

In the Station he is, at the Head of a Na-
 tional Ministry of Christ, (for, according to
 his Principles, it is a Couseage, they being
 only Ministers of Christ objectively, and as they
 reach him, not constitutive, and by his
 appointment) but to have undecieved the
 Magistrates and Army herein. It is true in-
 deed, some Independents do retain a Commu-
 nion with, and own the Presbyterians for true
 Churches in England, because they suppose
 them to have been once gathered rightly: And
 they say, they need only to be rectified,
 and not established a new; they are like a
 Garden full of Weeds, which is not to be new
 contrived, but weeded. I must confess this
 sort of Men to deal much with Similitudes;
 and after a confident Assertion, the Confir-
 mation is but an Allegory out of Scripture,
 or a Simile. But here it is very gross (if
 they deceive themselves only and not others)
 to think the Churches in England now are
 true Churches and rightly gathered (for it
 is that, and not Profession of one common
 Doctrine, that makes a Church) as to Sub-
 stance, because Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of
 Arimathea did convert some in Scotland
 1600 years ago. But whether he ever were
 there, or whether his Preaching there doth
 infer an Establishing of a Church, I must
 have better proof than Legends Ecclesiastical.
 As for Austin the Monk, it is unques-
 tionable that he did not gather Churches as to
 Matter or Form, in such a way as the In-
 dependents call right. But suppose they were
 once

once gathered rightly, which the most fond Supposal cannot extend beyond a few Churches; Can any tell where they were, that were so gathered? And were they not Churches of Persons, not Churches of Places? If so, What is this to Parochial Churches? And if they were so gathered, what necessity is there they should have continued so in substance till now? If these Men were to write Politicks, they would prove to us, that notwithstanding the alteration of the Saxon Hierarchy to Monarchy, and all the Changes brought in since by the Conquest, and after-times, even this present Constitution of a Republick, that we were still the same Government, and the same Model under accidental Changes only. I speak sincerely, that upon the most Impartial Enquiry that I yet could make into Church-Constitution, which is thought (by them) to have been introduced by the Apostles, and the variation brought about by Popish Usurpation, together with the Posture of things under Queen Elizabeth, and later days, I cannot but think the Civil Changes that have happened amongst us and our Predecessors to have been the lesser, and yet I have not seen that Man, who esteemed the Change in the Common-wealth to be but a Change in Circumstances, an accidental Alteration, like to the over-growing of Weeds; nor do I think there is any who could excuse now to the State, his endeavours to re-establish a single Person, by a

Plea

Plea of not subverting or altering the Government, but only weeding the same Republick. A Garden may in time be so overgrown with Weeds, as to cease to be a Garden, though it should be still our of doubt that it once was one.

VIII. *Whether the Ministers do well to derive their Succession unto Christ by the means of Antichrist? Whether they can in any reason deduce themselves from the Popish Clergy, since they do not ordain Ministers of the Gospel, but Massing Priests, with whom to preach, and that publicly, is no Ministerial Act, though the main Act of our Ministry? Whether the Reformed Divines from the several parts of France, the Palatinate, Switzerland, and Geneva, being solemnly met to confer at Poissy before the King and Nobility of France, did not reject such Ordination? As also Martin Luther, and Anthony Sadeel? (a) Whether they do not ill to impose upon them a Call and Ordination which they disowned? (b)*

At Poissy there was a Conference betwixt the Papists and Protestants; whose Delegates there, were *Augustinus Adalarthus, Franciscus a Pauli Fano, Jo. Raimondus Merlinus, Joannes Malo, Franc. Morellus, Nic. Tobias, Theodorus Beza, Claudius Bossierius, Jo. Bequinus, Jo. Viretus, Jo. Turrius, Nic. Gallacius, Jo. Spina,* and

Bucer also was of the same Judgment, as we may gather out of *Sadeel de voc. Minister.* And *Brevels* in his *Protestantis Apologia* (p. 161.) informs us of more of that Opinion.

Du Sours in his History saith, there were there Twelve Ministers, and Twenty two Deputies of the Protestant Churches, ad. ann. 1560.

and Peter Martyr of Zurich, these being deputed and met at Poissy to confer about Religion, being asked (as it is usual now a days) out of Tertullian, *Qui estis? Unde venistis? Quid agitis in vinea mea?* Who are you? Whence come you? What do ye in my Vineyard? A Question which the Papists would not ask, if they had sent them: The Protestant Delegates (for I no where read that any of them did dissent from Beza who gave the reply) did avow their Call not to have been from the Papists, who were there ready to disprove any such answer, but Extraordinary. The whole Story is thus recorded by *Thuanus Histor. t. 2: lib. 28. p. 45* Which I

Beza was appointed by common consent to reply, as *Anton. Faiv* reports it in his *Life*, p. 23. edit Geneva, 1606. The Ministers did not only come from several parts of France, but Peter Martyr was sent from Zurich, and Michael Dillier, and Pierre Biquard from the Palatinate: So that it is to be looked on as all their Judgment, *Anton. Faiv in vit. Beza p. 24. & 46.*

I shall set down at large; that the good People of this Nation may see out of whose Quiver the Arrows are fetched where with they are wounded; nor is there an Argument or Reply in the whole Controversie about the Call of the Ministry, as it is Judiciously managed on both sides in England, which is not to be found in the Popish and Protestant Writers near the time of the Reformation.

Claudio Espenceau, a learned Man, and peaceable, being commanded to speak by the Cardinal of Lorraine — said, That he often used to admire by what Authority

and

and Call, the Protestants became *Ministers*;
 and since they did not alledge any [mark
 as to matter of fact, the procedure of, the
 Protestants in those times, 1561.] from
 whom they had received *imposition of Hands*,
 how they could be esteemed of as lawful
Pastors, it being manifest thereby that they
 were destitute of any other ordinary Call;
 and seeing that the performance of Mira-
 cles was necessary to evince an extraordi-
 nary Call, and that the Protestants did
 not atchieve any, it did by necessary
 deduction follow that they were entred
 into the House of God, by a way neither
 ordinary nor extraordinary. — *Beza* did
 hereupon reply, That as to a legitimate
 Call, the *Imposition of Hands* was no necessary
 note thereof; the Chief and Substantial
 Tokens thereof, were good Life, sound
 Doctrine, and Election of the People:
 Nor was it any wonder if they had not
 received *imposition of Hands* from the Or-
 dinary [*ab iis qui vulgò ordinarii appellantur*].
 For how could that be, they being to
 reprove their corrupt Life, Superstition,
 and false Doctrines? Or could it be ex-
 pected that they should ever be allowed
 of them, who were Enemies to the Truths
 which they defended? Neither on the
 other side were Miracles necessary to an
 extraordinary Call; as he proved by the
 Examples of *Isaiab, Daniel, Amos, Zaccharias,*
 and *Paul*. Thus *Thuanus*.

Ibid. P. 46.

The same
 answer of
Beza is re-
 corded in his
 Life by *Am-
 son. Fals,*
 P. 31.

As for *Beza*, his particular judgment concerning the deriving of Orders, and Ordination, from *Papacy*, you shall find it set down in his answer to *Seravin's* second Chapter concerning the different Degrees of the Ministry. That learned and solid *Divine* had said, That the first Reformers had (most of them) an ordinary Call; and that being ordained once, they needed no more a second Institution, than did those *Magistrates, Priests* and *Levites*, who having been once Idolaters, did afterwards exterminate Idolatry and Superstition. This Plea (which is to me of *bad ones* the best, and which is that the *Episcoparians* do embrace) is by *Beza* thus refuted, 'But what ordinary Vocation is that which you say the first Reformers had, excepting some few of them? Is it not *Papal*? For these are your words, *If at this present the Bishops of the French Church, would but free themselves, and their Churches, from the Papal Tyranny, and renounce and purge out that Idolatry and Superstition which is amongst them, they need not any other Call than what they already have.* How is this? Shall we think then the *Popish Orders* to be so valid, in which there is not any preceding enquiry into Manners, no such procedure observed as is inviolably by divine Right to be kept in Elections and Ordinations; which are nothing else but a base Merchandise of that *Romish Whore*, more vile than the price of any Harlot, which yet the Lord forbade to be brought into his

*Beza adv.
Saravin.
Cap. 2. &
dis. grad.
minister.*

his Temple: In fine, wherein some are sent not to Preach, but to pervert the Gospel; others not to Teach, but to Sacrifice; and for the performance of that detestable Abomination, shall we think so highly thereof, that as often as any false Bishops shall be converted to true Christianity, immediately all the Filth, Uncleanness and Impurity of such Orders collated is washed away? Nay, but whom the Lord hath so regenerated, with what Face or Conscience will he be able to forsake Popery, and yet not abjure his irregular [*inordinatissimam*] Ordination? Or if he do abjure it, How shall he by Vertue thereof claim an Authority to Teach? Yet I do not deny but such Persons, if they be sound in Doctrine, of good Life, and fit to rule a Flock, they may be constituted, of unlawful and false Bishops, new and legitimate Pastors. This is the judgment of Beza, who was himself a Papist, had two Benefices, and should have been an Abbot, but was never in Orders, and could not be ignorant of the nature of the Popish Ordination: And it is in reference to this answer of the Protestants at Poissy, that Chemnitius a Lutheran Divine (as he is cited by Saravia) saith, 'That the Sacramentarians (those are the Calvinists) differ not from Anabaptists, when (saith Chemnitius) in France the Papists and Sacramentarians disputed about their Call, and the former asked the latter what Vocation they had; Beza answered, That it was neither Mediate nor Immediate,

Defens. Sarav. adv.
Bezam. c. 2.

Immediate, but an extraordinary Vacation which they had to Teach in France: And I hear that at Geneva they have this custom, to instruct some in Theology, that they may afterwards send them abroad into France.

As for the Judgment of Luther, who was himself in Orders, and a Priest, and a Doctor of Divinity, amongst the Papists, and so knew what they had conferred on him, and what was the import of their Ordination, he being excellently versed in the ways and pleas of the Romanists, yet doth not he make use of those nice Apologies which others have made for him since, but he doth absolutely disavow and disclaim their Ordination, in his Treatise of the Ministry, in the words following.

Thus every Man ought justly to fear, who loveth Christ, and rather to endure any thing than that he be ordained by the Papists; because in their Orders all things are managed with such a wicked preposterousness, that if they were not Blind and Mad, they would perceive how they do mock God to his Face: For Ordination being destined to that intent, according to the Word of God, and the Decrees as well as Practice of the Apostles, that some should be constituted Ministers of God's Word amongst the People: I say, the Ministry of the Word of God, by which the sacred Mysteries may be dispensed unto the People; it is that which ought to be instituted by Ordination, as being the principal Affair for

' for continuing the Church of God, and in
 ' which resides the *All of Ecclesiastical Orders*:
 ' Since without the Word there is no cer-
 ' tainty of any thing in the Church, and
 ' by the Word alone all things are ascer-
 ' tained. But my Friends, the Papists, do
 ' not so much as dream of this Ministry at
 ' their collating of Orders. What then do
 ' they do?

' First, being stricken with an Universal
 ' Blindness, they do not so much as know
 ' the Word of God, or the Ministry thereof,
 ' especially the *Bishops* who ordain; how
 ' then indeed can they by their Orders con-
 ' stitute Ministers of the Gospel? Moreover
 ' instead of *Ministers of God's Word*, they
 ' Ordain Sacrificers, who shall offer up the
 ' unbloody *Sacrifice of the Mass*, and bear
 ' *Confessions*: For this is that which the *Bishop*
 ' intends, when he gives them the *Chalice*
 ' in their hands, and bestows on them the
 ' power of *Consecrating and Sacrificing for the*
 ' *Quick and the Dead* (a Power which they
 ' boast neither the Angels, nor the *Virgin-*
 ' *Mother of God* to be possessed of, but them-
 ' selves, fellows worse than Robbers or
 ' Panders) and when he mysteriously breathes
 ' into the Ears of them, appointing them to
 ' be Confessors, and saying, *Receive the Holy*
 ' *Ghost*, this is that most glorious Power of
 ' Consecrating the Body of Christ, and for-
 ' giving Sins.

' But let me be accounted a *Fool*, a *Knave*,
 ' a *Liar*, if there be any one Ordained by
 E ' them

' them who dare say that at such time as he
 ' received Orders, he was commanded to
 ' dispense the Mysteries of Christ, *to teach*
 ' *the Gospel*, and govern the Church which
 ' Christ hath purchased by his Blood. There
 ' is not one of Them who ever hears of such
 ' a thing, nor doth he think it to appertain
 ' unto him; but he receiveth the *Chalice*, and
 ' supposes this to be the only work incum-
 ' bent upon him, to consecrate and offer
 ' up Christ in the *Mass*, and to hear Con-
 ' fessions. — This is the Power which ma-
 ' keth a Priest, he who hath received this,
 ' is formally in *Orders*; for the Ministry of
 ' the Word, for Preaching, that is an Infe-
 ' rior Act, to which there needs no other
 ' Call, than that the Parish-Priest or Magi-
 ' strate invite you; To this performance
 ' there needs no Character, this Function is
 ' no Order, as being not annex to the *Bishops*
 ' and *Pastors*, but to be transmitted to the
 ' inferiour sort of Men, and the illiterate
 ' vulgar Rabble. Because to dispense the
 ' Mysteries of God, and to feed Souls with
 ' the Bread of Life, the Everlasting Word,
 ' this is not [with the Papists] the *Sacra-*
 ' *ment of Order*, but to *Mass* it, that, that is
 ' the *Sacrament of Order*.

Luther de
 ministr. in-
 ter op. 366.
 c. 1.

Anton. Sa-
 deel, de vo-
 cat. ministr.
 inter op. in
 Folio, p. 541.
 c. 2.

That personal Succession is not necessary,
 so saith Sadeel; yea, it is so far from being
 necessary, that it is neither true nor pro-
 bable that it is requisite; for by what Text
 of Scripture is that proved? In that most
 accurate description of the duty of a *Bishop*,
 the

‘ there is not a word concerning an interrupted Succession. Why then do we permit our Adversaries, not only to add unto the words of the Scripture, but even to add that, without which, they deny that the Function of a Bishop [*a Minister*] can subsist ?

Reader, Mark this passage, for now it is so far from being allowed, that it is thought *Socinianism* to argue thus from 1 *Tim.* 3. and *Tit.* 1. It is an arguing negatively out of Scripture, denying any Glosses and Additions. *Non credimus, quia non legimus* ; we believe it not, because we read it not : This was a Saying much pressed by the first Reformers and Puritans, but now they have forgot it, or else they will not allow others that liberty which they took ; for they made themselves, and their Reasonings, to judge whether it were read there or no ; for the *Papists* they vouched Scripture, and Fathers ; the *Protestants* did the like : Yet did the latter deny that to be found in Scripture, for which the former did produce colourable Texts (and in the case of the Ministry, the same which are now urged against the *Quakers*, &c.) because they could oppose them with other Texts which they imagined more pregnant (though the *Papists* did not, but solved them) and could find Solutions for their Objections, or else that they were additions to the Text.

Ibid. p. 543.
c. 1, 2.

That Personal Succession is insignificant without a Profession of true Doctrine, saith *Sadeel*: ' For it is not to be doubted, but ' the *Arrians* had a visible Succession and ' Ordination, [better than any Reformed Divines can pretend to] ' yet was not that ' to their advantage. Now concerning the Profession of the Truth, he is mad who dissents from the Ministers, and yet will allow them to be in the right: And if he be convinced they are in the wrong, he is (I think) hereby excused from valuing their Ordination. To illustrate this further, I shall set down in brief what *Sadeel* delivers as an Exposition upon *Matt.* 28. 19, 20. *Go ye therefore, and teach all Nations, Baptising them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you: And lo. I am with you alway unto the end of the World.*

Furriani So-
phism, p. 594
595. Edit.
prædictæ.

He observes, ' That Christ speaks not to the Pastors alone of the Church, but to all the Saints; that is, he promiseth to the whole Church, that he will be with them always: This is easily collected from the ' Circumstances of the place. For thus saith ' Christ, *Go teach all Nations to keep my Commandments, and behold I am with you, &c.* ' There is none but sees out of the Context, ' and from the Conjunction Copulative, that ' the last words refer as well to those that ' are to be taught, as to them that teach. No ' less than Christ elsewhere, *John* 17. 19, 20. ' pro-

'professeth that he doth not pray *only* for
 'his *Apostles*, but for *them also which should*
 'believe through their word. Besides, (give
 'me leave to regulate his Argument, for I
 'vary not his sense) If *Christ will be with*
 'them for ever, it doth not follow that it
 'must be effected by a personal Succession:
 'For such is the Nature of true Faith and
 'Baptism, that where they are, *Christ can-*
 'not be absent, Gal. 3. 27. *As many of you*
 '*as have been baptised into Christ, have put on*
 '*Christ.* And John 14. 23. *If a Man love*
 '*me, he will keep my words: and my Father*
 '*will love him, and we will come unto him, and*
 '*make our abode with him.* And many other
 'such like Texts may be alledged, whereby
 'the Sophism deduced hence, is destroyed.—
 'But how is Christ with them *always*?
 'Some say, *in their Preaching and administering*
 '*of Baptism.* But this too narrow and empty
 'an Exposition; as if Christ were only then
 'with his Church, whilst they were Preach-
 'ing and Sacramentising it. And for so
 'much as they speak of his being with the
 'Apostles and their Successors by Ordina-
 'tion, this is also Fond, for the main
 'thing to be upheld, is a perpetuating the
 'Doctrine of Christ by Succession, without
 'which, Ordination is an useless Ceremony.
 'It is therefore but foolishly done of them,
 'to omit the matter of Doctrine which is
 'expressly mentioned in the Text, and to
 'discourse about Ordination, of which

' there is no mention. I retort their Expo-
 ☆ ' sition thus, *I am with you whilst you teach*
 ' *the Nations what I have commanded.* Hence
 ' I collect, That *Christ is not with them who*
 ' *do not teach his Gospel, but their own Imagina-*
 ' *tions*; nor can such be Successors to the
 ' Apostles, though they never so much ex-
 ' alt themselves through a conceited Ordina-
 ' tion. Ordination! it is no note of
 ' Truth or just Authority, though certainly
 ' and apparently derived from the Apostles.
 ' To pass by an infinity of other proofs,
 ' when *Paul* told the Elders of *Ephesus*, *Acts*
 ' *20. 30.* *Of your own selves shall Men arise,*
 ' *speaking perverse things, to draw away Disci-*
 ' *ples after them.* Surely those false Teachers
 ' had Ordination, yet were not Successors to
 ' the Apostles. Shew us first that you are
 ' lawfully called; next (seeing *Christ* saith,
 ' *Go teach*) shew us the *truth* of the Doctrines
 ' you deliver; and then you may possibly
 ' advantage your selves thereby; especially
 ' if you can prove, that there ought to be
 ' always some whose duty it shall be to
 ' *Teach all Nations*; for so the Text saith
 ' positively, *Go teach all Nations*: But Reason
 ' and Experience inform us, that it is false,
 ' that *Christ* did promise the *Perpetuation* of
 ' such a *Ministry*. It is *Truth* which upholds
 ' a Church, and not a *successive Ministry*; yea,
 ' since the *Truth* hath not failed, and the
 ' Apostolick Successors have failed, it is a
 ' sign that *Truth* is and may be preserved
 ' other-

otherwise than by them: Yea, in this is
 the Purity and exceeding great Verity of
 God's Word, that it doth not depend upon
 lying Men. But to evince further the
 no-necessity of a successive Ministry to up-
 hold the Church, I give you a double
 Instance; for in the Church of *Israel* 1 Kings 12.
 ordinary Succession was interrupted, and
 yet there were seven thousand who had
 not bowed their Knees to *Baal*, but re-
 tained the Truth. On the other side, in
Jerusalem, whilst *Abaz* did reign, there 1 Kings 19.
 was an outward visible Succession of a
 Priesthood, yet was the Land overspread 2 Kings 16.
 with Errors, and the Temple of God shut
 up, and *Urias* the Priest did prophane the
 Worship of God at the Command of the
 King. So in *Jerusalem* there was a suc- 2 Chron. 28.
 cessive Priesthood in our Saviour's time,
 yet were they very erroneous in their
 Doctrines, and those very Successionists did
 Crucifie Christ.

After this *Sadeel* enlarges against the Po-
 pish Ordination, that it is null, that it hath
 been interrupted. In that part of his Dis-
 course which concerns the Nullity of them,
 he agrees with *Beza*; and as to their being
 interrupted, his Proofs (though too long
 to recite) are as evincing, as it is likewise
 clear that a Succession, if made out for
 some few Generations, yet unless it be con-
 tinued to the end, it is but an impertinent
 Labour to insist on it; if it be once lost, it
 is never to be retrieved, but by extraordi-

Sadeel also
 fully discus-
 seth the bu-
 siness of Suc-
 cession in his
 Answer to
 the Monks
 of Bourde-
 aux, Art. 61,
 62, 63.

Sola possessio non sufficit in beneficiis Ecclesiasticis, nisi adsit Canonica institutio. A sole Possession is not sufficient in Ecclesiastical Benefices, unless there concur also a Canonical Institution. *Extravag. de instit. cap. ex frequentibus.* And *Prescriptio non prodest cum habent malam fidem.* A Prescription doth not profit, in case it be grounded upon an evil Conscience, and therefore sitthence *Ministers*, whose Title is null, are *male fidei possessores*, unjust Possessors, *fraus & dolus eorum sibi patrocinari non debet.* Their Deceit and Collusion ought not to support them. *Extravag. de prescript. c. 51. diligenti, &c. cum omne.* As the Author of the Abstract of *Affs, Laws, and Canons of Church-Government*, published under *Q. Eliz.* doth argue, p. 68.

nary Means: And tho' a Man be in Possession of a Parsonage or Benefice, that is not sufficient warrant for our Subjection to him, and owning of him for Christ's Minister; to assert or own a thing, evidence is requisite. Nor is the case here, as in the *Civil Magistracy*; if he have Possession we submit, but do not acknowledge his Title to be Just; nor doth he require more than

such compliance. But for a Minister to submit to him, and yet not to own his Title, it is impossible, so connexed is a due entrance to the discharge of the Ministry: We have no warrant for Submission to an usurp'd Ministry, for Magistracy I think we have; God who blames some for running unsent, *Jer. 14. 14, 15.* bids not that we should receive them. However there is an infinite difference in the Acknowledgments we make to the one, and wherewith the other will be payed. So that Mr. Baxter might have waved such a Plea as this for the Ministry. But it is not my intent to refute him, but to shew the Opinion of the Reformed Divines at first, and that they did not assent to the Arguments now used, as demonstrative for a standing Ministry.

The

The whole business of *Call of Ministers*, is agitated by the aforesaid *Sadeel*, and whoever hath but the confidence to think himself in the right, may there find a defence against all Objections out of Scripture or Fathers, as to matter of *Call*. There he will see the Nullity of a Succession apostatized: There he will see, for his Satisfaction, how successive Ordination is so far from being designed to overthrow the Beast, that it is an extraordinary *Call* which must do it.

*Sadeel de
vocat. mi-
nistr.*

For doth not God in the *Revelation*, Chap.

11. 3. say, That he will raise up two Witnesses, that he will give them Power, and they shall Prophesie against the Beast?

Is it not said, 2 *Thess.* 2. 8. that God shall

ibid. p. 557.

consume Antichrist, the wicked one, with the Spirit of his mouth? In that Text we

shall find that there will in those days be

no visible Succession amidst the Corruptions

of the Church, Apostacy being opposite to Succession: And that the Church

shall be restored again by the sincere

Preaching of the Gospel, which must be

extraordinary, since that Man of Sin is to

be consumed by the Spirit of the Lord,

and not by himself: The Argument runs

thus, He who opposed himself to Christ, and

corrupted the Church, as far as in him lay, by

his Traditions and Falshoods, he is to be de-

stroyed by the Spirit of the Mouth of the Lord;

that is, by sincere Preaching of the Word: But

it is clear, that the sincere Preaching of the

Word, cannot be with or from him who hath

corrupted

corrupted the Church, for then he could not be
 ὁ ἀντιχριστός, he who opposeth himself: The
 sincere Preaching of the Gospel then must have
 a different rise: But there can be no Preaching
 without Preachers, therefore those Preachers
 must not be raised in and out of the ordinary
 Constitution, but extraordinarily [præter ordi-
 nem solitum] by the Lord, that so the Errors
 and Blasphemies may be confuted by the Spirit
 of the Mouth of Christ; and not by the
 Spirit of the Mouth of Antichrist. This will
 be more easily understood, if we consider
 it well. For the Preaching of the Gospel, the
 Word of God it self, where that is found, there
 is an Ecclesiastical Ministry. And where
 that is not found, I oppose to all Argu-
 ments that can be brought about Ordina-
 tion, this one Saying of Christ, Matt. 5. 13.
 If the Salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall
 it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing,
 but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot
 of Men.—And for them who laugh at us
 for Extraordinary Ministers, we reply thus,
 That it is either to be understood of such
 as so arise, that they violate what is the
 due and appointed Order: And thus the
 Pontificians, as they recede from Apostolical
 Prescripts, and that Order which is insti-
 tuted by God, so without doubt they are
 Extraordinary, and retrench upon Order.
 Or Extraordinary, signifies no more than
 a Breach upon what is the Custom, Usage,
 and Order in Fashion, not considering, that
 such Order in its being, is but an Usurpa-
 tion.

Ipsum Dei
 verbum, ipsa
 Evangelii
 prædicatio
 secum infert
 ministerium
 Ecclesiasti-
 cum.

' tion upon what ought to be, and that a
 ' Departure or Deviation from it, is but a
 ' resuming of that course which had been
 ' interrupted—— In a word, *Sadeel* with
 much enforcement urgeth these Argu-
 ments against the Popish Ordination;
 ' There never was, nor never will be, any p. 559.
 ' true ordinary Calling, without due Ele-
 ' ction, unless we will expunge the whole
 ' Scripture, and ancient Histories: But
 ' there is no due Election amongst the
 ' *Papists*, but they intrude themselves into
 ' Ecclesiastical Dignities, and get Benefices,
 ' as it were, by Prey: Therefore, as with-
 ' out due Election there is no Vocation, so
 ' without Vocation there can be no Suc-
 ' cession in their Ministry.— And, which
 reason alone he thinks to be conclusive,
 so as that we might wave all other. ' All
 ' the Bishops of the *Roman Church* are de-
 ' rived from the Romish Sea, and have from p. 560.
 ' thence all their right of Vocation and
 ' Election. But the Papal Primacy is re-
 ' pugnant to the Word of God, and un-
 ' known to the ancient Bishops; nor was
 ' it either in the Church, or over the Church,
 ' so long as the true Bishops of the Church
 ' did remain. Indeed they who demand
 ' Miracles of us, do impose upon us a Mon-
 ' ster, in that they would have the Voca-
 ' tion of Bishops to be Legitimate and Right,
 ' because it is totally derived from the Pope's
 ' Authority, whom yet our Doctors have
 ' at large evinced, to have himself no
 ' Voca-

‘ Vocation nor Appointment at all from
 ‘ God.

Not much unlike to this last passage of *Sadecl's*, is that of *Dr. Owen* (Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Oxon*) in his Reply to *Dr. Cawdrey*, who it seems derived *his* and *his Friends Call* from a *Succession* thorough the *Papacy*; salving all by a distinction of the *Papacy* from the Church of *Rome*. After *Dr. Owen* had related the passage already mentioned out of *Beza*, and owned it (p. 47 and 48.) he professeth he doth not understand that distinction of his Adversaries. ‘ I hope he will not
 ‘ be angry, if I profess my dis-ability to
 ‘ understand it: (All Men cannot be wise
 ‘ a-like) if the *Papacy* comprise the *Pope*,
 ‘ and all Papal Jurisdiction and Power, with
 ‘ the Subjection of Men thereunto; if it
 ‘ denote all the *Idolatries*, *False Worship*, and
 ‘ *Heresies* of that Society of Men; I do know
 ‘ that all those are confirmed by *Church-Acts*
 ‘ of that Church; and that in the *Church-*
 ‘ *publick-Sense* of that Church, no Man was
 ‘ a Member of it, but by virtue of the Union
 ‘ that consisted in that *Papacy*, it being placed
 ‘ always by them in all the Definitions of
 ‘ their Church; as also that there was nei-
 ‘ ther Church-Order, nor Church-Power,
 ‘ nor Church-Act, nor Church-Confession,
 ‘ nor Church-Worship amongst them, but
 ‘ what consisted in the *Papacy*.

Either I understand not the *Doctor*, or he
 speaks more than he seems to own; he doth
 not only Un-Minister all that deduce their

Call,

Call, from a *Succession* continued by Romish
Babylon, but he *Un-Baptises* them also. I
 think these words of his are of an Import
 not less than I speak of: 'It is sufficiently *In his De-*
 'easie to manifest, that whosoever resolves *fence, p. 45.*
 'his Interest in Gospel-Priviledges [I hope
 'the Preaching of the Word, either as to
 'Hearer, or Deliverer, is a Gospel-Privi-
 'ledge] into this Foundation [of deducing
 'it thorough the *Papacy*] can have no assu-
 'rance of Faith, nay, nor tolerable proba-
 'ble Conjecture that he is Baptised, or was
 'ever made Partaker of any Ordinance of
 'the Gospel. Who (think you) are those
 that he Incapacitates, as to all Gospel-
 Priviledges, hereby? All the *Episcoparians*,
 and Mr. *Cawdrey* and all his *Abettors*, if not
 all the *Presbyterians*. And yet this *Doctor* not
 only holds *Communion* with them in part,
 owns them (or equivocates) in the *Ministry*,
 and hath of late contributed to the up-
 holding of a *Ministry* bottomed upon no
 other *Pretences*, in Point of *Being*, and *Main-*
tenance by *Tytbe*, a way of the *Babylonish* Ap-
 pointment perfectly. But it may be, as upon
 the account of something, whose Efficacy they
 will not own; he admitteth them to be right
 worthy *Ministers* of the Gospel of Christ; so
 upon the account of something, which neither
 he nor they will avow, did he carry on those
 late *Endeavours*. Surely he did thereby (if *Of Schism,*
 I mistake not) keep up in this Particular, what *p. 197.*
 God would have pulled down, (*Schism, p. 198.*)
 for it was the up-holding of them in the
 way

way by him otherwise dis-allowed, which was debated.

(b) The Protestant Divines, that they may secure themselves in their Function, against such as question their *Vocation*, have, since the Death of *Luther*, and other the most eminent *First Reformers*, imposed upon them a *Call*, which they did never own, as I have already evinced. They say that they had a *Call* from the *Papacy*; but they deny it, *Utri credimus?* Who is to be believed? They say, That though they were ordained to be *Mass-Priests*, yet withal they were appointed to *preach the Gospel too*: And particularly *Luther* was solemnly made a *Doctor* at *Witteberge*, and received thereby Power, yea, did swear to expound the Scripture, and defend the *Apostolick Truths*, in despite of all Hereticks. But hereunto it is replied, That even in the Judgment of the *Papists*, liberty to preach the Word is a natural Right, and so could not be conferred at their *Ordination*, or *Doctoral Inauguration*. It is true, the Form used in promoting of *Doctors* in *Paris* is, *I give you License to Dispute, Teach, Read, here and all over the World*. Yet saith *Henricus Lancilotus*, an *Augustine Friar*, and *Doctor in Divinity*, in reply to *Hunnius* (*Capistr. Hunn. c. 8. p. 67.*) who made use of this Defence for *Luther's Call*; 'In saying, he was a *Doctor* of *Witteberge*, thereby to prove his *Mission*: You do but 'Sport your self in words, and talk to no 'purpose; for a *Doctor's Degree* includes a publick

Sacrov. de-
fens. de div.
grad. ministr.
c. 26. ex Ger-
sone.

' publick Testimony of the Learning of the
 ' Person promoted, but not a *Mission*. How
 ' many *Doctors* and *Licentiates* are there in
 ' *Louvain*, and other of our Universities, whom
 ' yet no Man that hath any Wit in his Head,
 ' will say, are thereby constituted *Ministers*
 ' of the Word and Sacraments, without a
 ' peculiar Ordination besides of the Bishop;
 ' much less that they have Power to send
 ' others. Nor is this only the Opinion of
 ' the *Papists*, it is the Universal Opinion of the
 ' Reformed Divines beyond Sea, and their
 ' Descendants in England, that Academical
 ' Degrees are no Call, nor part of a Call to
 ' the Ministry. *Saravia* giveth this caution
 ' to young University-men, ' Young Men, puff'd
 ' up with the publick Testimony which the
 ' University hath given them of their Learn-
 ' ing, ought to take heed that they do not
 ' thereupon think themselves to be assumed
 ' into the number of *Presbyters* of the Church,
 ' unless they have a further Ordination.

De dev.
grad. minist.
 c. 26.

Beza remarks upon this passage of his,
 ' I say they cannot so much as create *Doctors*
 ' of the Church; for by what Right, Reason,
 ' or Conscience, is the Right of Election,
 ' which appertains to the Church (and with-
 ' out which, whoever enters into the Church
 ' is a Thief and Robber) translated unto the
 ' University? Let the Governours of the Uni-
 ' versity give to their diligent Scholars a due
 ' Testimony of their Learning and Piety;
 ' actual Power and Authority to Teach; only
 ' the Church can give them, from whence
 by

In anim. d.
 ad c. 26.

Infl. l. 4. c. 3.
Sect. 4.

‘ by due order, they must receive it, if they
 ‘ will be truly *Doctors*. And Calvin also
 distinguishes betwixt a *Pastor* and a *Doctor*,
 ‘ That the *Doctors* have nothing to do with
 ‘ the Discipline, or Administration of Sacra-
 ‘ ments. In fine, Since it is the general Opi-
 nion of the *Reformed Divines*, that a *Doctor*
 is but of the Rank of *School-Masters*, and no
Clergy-Man, such an Institution doth not
 prove the *Graduates* to have been thereby
 ordained *Ministers*. It is true, to the *Papists*
 it may pass as an Argument *ad homines*, that
 they appointed *Luther* to *preach the Gospel*, and
confute Heresies. But they will reply again,
 That they degraded him, and that they never
 gave him power to teach any other Do-
 ctine nor Gospel than was agreed upon
 and received, not in Letter only, but Sense,
 by the *Romish Church*. And that this was
 the Intent of the *Popish Universities* beyond
 Sea, if not *express Declaration*, I doubt not
 but it may be made appear by *Subscriptions*,
 and Acknowledgments made at their *Pro-
 motion*, if we understood the Particulars, or
 may guess at them by the particular Cu-
 stoms of the *University of Oxon*, in its Statutes.
 As for their having been ordained *Priests*,
 that to preach is no part of that Order, I
 have declared out of *Luther*, who was or-
 dained *Priest*, and could not but know what
Ordination he received. But furthermore,
 this is acknowledged by *Dom. Soto*, upon the
fourth Book of the Sentences. ‘ By the Law
 ‘ of God, or Divine Right, Preaching is not

Distinc. 1.
qu. 4. Art. 6.
p. 61. c. 2.

' a *Duty annexed unto the*
 ' *Holy Orders*: Nay, the
 ' *Prophets* of old were
 ' *Preachers*, and would be
 ' still, if they were now
 ' alive; and the *Hermites*
 ' did preach in the De-
 ' sert, yet were not they
 ' *Priests*; nor is that usage
 ' thereupon condemned;
 ' yea, Pope Gregory, in his first Book of
 ' Dialogues, doth commend a certain Lay-
 ' Man called *Equitius*, because that he did
 ' preach to the People. Besides in the *Ordi-*
 ' *nation of Priests*, there is not any mention
 ' made of *Preaching*; nor would it be fitting
 ' to enjoin them that, without a more
 ' strict Examination than they do undergo.--
 But he says, It is by positive Laws of Mens
 Appointment, that any are prohibited to
 preach; which he evinces out of the *Pope's*
Decretals, who gave the Rise to such Pre-
 scriptions as our *Ministers* would counte-
 nance. All *Priests* amongst them may not *ibid.*
 preach; it being one of the Articles which
 the Council of *Constance* (Session 8 & 15.) did
 censure in *Wickliff* and *Huss*, that All *Priests*,
 by vertue of their Ordination, were bound to
 preach. The *Bishop's* License is necessary to a
 Man, that he do lawfully preach amongst
 the *Papists*; and it is with reference here-
 unto that they alledge *Rom. 10. 15.* How
 shall they preach except they be sent? And if
 the *Bishop* please to license any, a *Lay-Man*
 amongst

Gregory de Valentia, T. 4. Disp. 2.
Qu. 1. de Sacr. Ord. quoad. Subst. ejus,
punct. 3. p. 1533. saith, That the pro-
per Duty of a Presbyter or Romish
Priest is, to Consecrate the Body and
Blood of Christ at the Altar, to say
Prayers, Bless the Gifts of God, Ad-
minister the Sacraments, except those
of Order and Confirmation. And this
is their peculiar and determinate Of-
fice, though they may Preach, if the
Bishop licenseth them; and so he
saith may a Deacon too. Ibid. p. 1534.

Alcala de
Henarez.

Sacri verbi
populo per
quadragesi-
mæ tempus
enunciandi
de exponen-
di causa.

Alcala de
Henarez.

amongst the *Papists* may preach and ex-
pound, but not administer the Sacraments.
An Example hereof we have in *Benedictus*
Arias Montanus, who was a *Physician*, studied
Phylick under *Petrus Mena* at the University
of *Completum*, and being afterwards Practi-
tioner thereof in his Native Country near
Sevil, he was sent for by the *Magistrates*
and *Fathers of the Inquisition* at a Town called
Lerina bordering upon *Portugal* (without
any *Ordination*) that he might expound and
preach the Word of God to the People in *Lent*;
which work he performed as well out of
regard unto the Honesty of the Action, as
of the Dignity of the Persons which called
him thither. This he related of himself in his
Preface to Arcæus de cur. vuln. So *Ignatius*
and three other Companions of his, being
no way in *Orders*, or owners of much Learn-
ing at that time, did at *Complutum*, an Uni-
versity of *Spain*, publicly instruct the Com-
mon People in Piety and a good Life, as
well as the Principles of Religion; yet were
they not prohibited, nor condemned, for
such their Zeal for the Salvation of others;
but after that the *Inquisitors of Toledo* had
enquired into the Life and Deportment of
him and his Associates, and found them to
be Men of Innocent Behaviour, and Ortho-
dox in Judgment, they never said any
thing to them, but reported the Case to
the Vicar of the Arch-Bishop, *John Figueroa*,
who sent to *Ignatius* and his Friends this
Message, That since upon a strict Enquiry they
had

bad been found, as to their Lives and Discourses, unblameable, (though they were illiterate) they might proceed as they should think fit, and without Let or Molestation, endeavour the Good and Salvation of their Neighbours. Ribadeneria in

vit. Ignatii, l. i. c. 14. Afterwards Ignatius and his Companions at Salamanca, another University in Spain, were examined, not about their Call to Teach, but about their Doctrine, and Abilities, and Life: And being found not very Learned, they were prohibited to discourse publickly of abstruse Points; but otherwise it was left free for

them, according to their usual Custom, to teach the People, and discourse of Divine Matters, *ibid.*

c. 15. Much more might be produced to evince this Truth, that in the repute of the Papists, to

preach was not a particular Act of the Priesthood, or Ministry, whereunto they did ordain Men; nor was Ordination any way necessary thereunto, but a License from the Bishop or Ordinary. Nor is it difficult to shew, that the Episcoparian (as distinct from the Geneva Principles) did not account Preaching a part, much less the principal and constitutive Act of their Ministry, whereunto they did ordain Men. I shall not vouch here what Dr. Heylin, or Dr. Pocklington, Men of unquestionable Learning and great Reading, have written, by way of compliance

When will our Ministers deal so with a Quaker? Yet those were the Bloody Inquisitors.

See the Examination of William Thorpe Priest, concerning his Preaching without License: The Bishop tells him he never sent him to preach. And that Martyr saith, That such as were licensed, were limited by unlawful Oaths in their Preaching, whether they were Priests, or other such Preachers. Acts and Mon. p. 532.

1559

The like Injunction is given by K. Edward 6. 9. 10. And in the Ecclesiastical Canons published under K. James 1604. can. 49, 50, 54.

with the *Tenets* of Popish Writers, hereupon:

But refer my self to the Injunctions of *Q. Elizabeth*, published in the first Year of her Reign, to the *Clergy and Layty*, §. 8. None are to be admitted to Preach, but such as shall appear to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the *Queen's Majesty*, or the *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, or the *Arch-Bishop of York*, in either of their *Provinces*, or the *Bishop of the Diocess*, or by the *Queen's Majesties Visitours*. And such as shall be so licensed, they shall gladly receive to declare the Word of God at convenient times, without any Resistance or Contradiction, Here is no enquiry to be made into their Ordination, in reference to a Man's Preaching, but that he be licensed. * *Sutcliffe*

Reader, This Controversie about ordaining *Ministers* to Preach, is no new thing, though some have endeavoured to persuade me so, for it is as old as the Reformation in the days of *Q. Elizabeth*, the *Clergy* in being still denying Preaching to be a ministerial Act, but that they were true *Ministers*, and rightfully entred upon *Orders* who could not Preach, but Read. This is evident (beyond what I have said here) by a Book printed then, called, *An Abstract of Acts, Canons and Constitutions, in force, respecting Church-Government*. A piece soberly written, and by one excellently skilled in the *Civil, Canon, and Common Law*. He saith (p. 43.) that whereas in the Form of *Ministerial Ordination*, towards the latter end, it is said, *Take Authority to Preach where thou shalt be appointed*. They took hold no otherwise to suffer them to Preach, then as they should be licensed afterward by writing. Expounding (*where*) which is a word signifying Place, and referred

in his answer to certain calumnious Petitions, p. 125. bringeth it in for a puritanical Article against the Bishops, *That they did not admit Preachers to Preach without License, and that they did make unpreaching Ministers*. Hereunto he answers, ' That albeit *Ministers* have by their Ordination power to announce the Word by Reading: Yet it is not fit, that every one should expound it, but such as have Learning, and that is known by long

' long experience, and
' must be testified by writing. From which passage I desire it may be observed, that tho' the *Episcoparians* did by *Ordination* confer upon the Persons ordained a Power to announce the *Word of God*; Yet it was meant only by Reading, and not Preaching.

to a Place, by (when) which is a word importing Time: So that notwithstanding the Form, no Power was given to Preach; only a cheat was put upon the People thorough words (as usually happens in *Political contrived Changes*) insignificant; the import being no more than this, *Take thou Authority to Preach, when thou shalt have Authority to Preach*. And indeed if this had not been their opinion, how could they have always continued on to Ordain such as they knew not to be able to Preach? How ridiculous had they been, if they had by *imposed Hands* designed him an *Authority to Preach*, whom they knew not to be insufficient in that way? Had they ordained *Children, Mad-Men*, and *Naturals or Idiots*, no Man durst have said, The *Ordination* had been valid: Now if the meaning of the words be, that these (as they then termed them in the *Presbyterial Language* [if they were such] though now when it is attributed to Men of equal Demerits, it be reviving) *dumb Dogs* receive *Power to Preach* (as an Act necessary and essential to a Minister) the Act is as great a Nullity, as the former. Since I am here speaking of this Form of *Ordaining to Preach*, let me tell thee one thing, which I have elsewhere spoke to. They who plead for a Power given to our *first Reformers*, by the *Papists*, to Preach the Gospel, at their being made *Doctors*; I would fain know why they do not permit the *Papish Doctors*, and such as are deputed by the same *Commission* that *Luther*, &c. is pretended to have had? Why did not the Bishops suffer the Puritans (though *ordained to Preach*?) Is it not evident by this Dealing, and by the Laws of the Land, against *Papish Doctors Preaching*; yea, and *Foreign Divines* too, debarring them the Ministry (as *M. Sutcliffe* proveth out of the *Statute 13. Eliz. c. 12.* in his answer to *Calumn. Petition*, p. 111.) that in such *Ordinations* they did not intend a plain Preaching of the Gospel, but of it in the *determinate Sense* of the Ordainers? But I shall speak no more, since the Author of that *Abstract* &c. hath shewed that according to *Law* there are Nullities enough in a Ministry derived through the *Papacy* to overthrow all *Succession*.

That for a Man to Preach, it was from his *License* that he did receive such Power: This is further exemplified by the practice of the University of *Oxon*, which hath been continued Time out of Mind; though it was never in the Power of the University

Stat. Univ. Oxon. Tit. 9. Sect. 1.

to ordain: Yet, had they a Power to *License Men to Preach all over England*. And this Power is continued unto them, even unto this Day, by the Statutes contrived by *Bishop Laud*, and still in force, for ought I know, and not murmured against by the *Presbyterians* ruling there. It is there ordained (in the *Canterburian Statutes*) that none be permitted to sue for such a *License*, who is not *Master of Arts, Batchelor of Law, or Batchelor of Divinity*, each whereof must have studied in the University Theology seven Year, and at least once have disputed in Divinity publicly as Respondent, and made four laudable *Sermons* before the University. After the performance hereof, he supplicates for a *License* to the University Congregation. That such his performances may suffice for his admittance to Preach the Word of God throughout all England. When he has got His Grace, as they call it, he receives *Testimonial Letters* by the Authority and Decree of the Congregation, as follows,

*Quatenus
hæc ei suffi-
cient quoad-
mittatur ad
annuncian-
dum Dei ver-
bum per uni-
versam An-
gliam.*

Ibid. §. 3. The Chancellor, Masters and Scholars, of the University of *Oxon*, to our beloved in Christ, *A. B. Batchelor in Divinity*, and Fellow of *N. Coll.* in the University aforesaid, everlasting Salvation in our Lord. Since all our Studies, Purposes and Actions, ought to be referred unto the Glory of God, and the Salvation of our Brethren; we the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars, of

of the said University (out of the opinion we have of your Abilities, and upright Life) do by these Presents give you free *License* and *Power* to Preach the Word of God, according to that Talent which God hath given you, in any Churches whatsoever, of *England*, or publick Ecclesiastical Meetings convened for that purpose; and that this *License* or *Power* shall last for ever, provided you neither do, nor Preach, any thing contrary to the Rites and Canons publickly received and approved of in the Church: In which case, if you commit any such fact, we will that this *License* of ours be forthwith null and invalid.

Facultatem
et potesta-
tem predi-
candi ver-
bum Dei.

This may suffice to shew the extent of *Episcopal Ordination*, and the nature of *Doctors* and *Licentiates* in the University of *Oxon*, and probably *Paris* and *Salamanca*; there is so great an affinity in the Original Constitutions and Ceremonies of them all, that I am exceeding apt to think that their *Licentiating* was every where of a like nature, and that it did extend no further either in the Collation of *Doctoral Degrees*, or *Licentiating* to Preach, than that they should Preach the Gospel, as received and expounded in the Church, of which the *Licensers* and *Conferrers* were Members. But there is one passage more in a Preface of Dr. Gerard Langbaine, late Provost of *Qu. College*, and Antiquary of the University of *Oxon*, fixed

Q. Eliz. In-
junction, 43.

to a Book of Sr. John Cleeke's, called, *The true Subject to the Rebel*, which will influence this Assertion, That *Popish Ordination* did not confer *Power to Preach*; nor *Episcoparian Constitutions* appropriate it to the *Ministry*.

Ibid. Injun-
ction, 33.

What a learned Ministry shall we think they had under Q. Mary, when many were made Priests being Children, and otherwise utterly unlearned, so they could read, to say *Mattens and Mass*? And how can we expect it should be much better in the

Ibid. Injun-
ction, 29.

first of Q. Elizabeth, when some Ministers (because they were but mean Readers) are enjoined to peruse over before once or twice the Chapters and Homilies, to the intent they might read to the better understanding of the People? And what estimate shall we make of their discretion, when because there had grown Offence, and some Slander to the Church, by lack of discreet and sober Behaviour, in many Ministers of the Church, both in choos-

I set this down at large, because I am not sure that these Injunctions (which ought to be read in the Church quarterly) are not abolished and null'd; as also to give a pattern to the Triers of Scandalous Ministers, that not only their Personal Faults, but their Marriages, and Wives Acts, mayout them.

ing their Wives, and in un-discreet living with them; It was thought very necessary, that no manner of Priest or Deacon, should thereafter take to his Wife, any manner of Woman, without the Advice and Allowance, first had, upon good Examination by the Bishop of the same Diocese, and two Justices of Peace, of the same Shire, dwelling next to the place where the same Woman hath made her next abode before Marriage, And

And if any shall do otherwise, that then they shall not be permitted to Minister either the Word, or the Sacraments of the Church, nor shall be capable of an Ecclesiastical Benefice. — And if any Master, or Dean, or any Head of any College, shall purpose to Marry, the same shall not be allowed, but by such to whom the Visitation of the same doth properly belong. What rare Preachers shall we imagine they had in the University at that time, when Mr. Tavernour of Water-Eaton, high Sheriff of Oxfordshire, came in pure Charity, not Ostentation, and gave the Scholars a Sermon in St. Maries, with his Gold Chain about his Neck, and his Sword by his Side; beginning with these Words, *Arriving at the Mount of St. Maries, in the Stony Stage where I stand, I have brought you some fine Biskets, baked in the Oven of Charity, and carefully conserved for the Chickens of the Church, the Sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet Swallows of Salvation.*

Out of this passage, of Dr. Langhain's, you may not only judge in part what Face Protestanty had first here, where it was settled in a National way at once; but also see clear proof, That if Children, and such as could only Read, were ordained to be Popish Priests, and Protestant Ministers, how far Preaching is from having been the chief, or indeed any Act of their Call. The action of Mr. Sheriff, being not Censured, is a witness for *Lay-preaching*: It is not to be imagined that so Considerable a piece of Magistracy,

See the conclusion added to this Edition.

stracy, of no ordinary Qualifications (as you may guess by the Proeme of his Sermon) in those days, should violate the appointments of the then Church. You may also observe the caution of our *Independents*; who will own the *Parochial Assemblies* for true Churches of Christ, because they (some few in some corner of England, Scotland, or Ireland, they know not where possibly) were once rightly gathered, though the whole Essence and Institution of them is by the Papists avowed to be from them; and the mentioned Order of Priests, as in the times of Q. Mary, would (one should think) create an *Intercision*, or whatever name they will give it.

From all that hath been said, it is clear, That a Popish Doctor of School-Divinity is not thereby in holy Orders, or as such a part of the Clergy; nor hath he power to administer the Sacraments, nor derives any succession from the Apostles; nor is he ordained, but created or promoted to his Doctorship; nor that, by any Spiritual Ecclesiastical Canons and Prescription, but *Academical Statutes*.

fold. Junium. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1. & 5:

It is likewise clear, nor can any Man deny it, who is versed in the Promoters of Geneva-Discipline of old, That a Doctor of Divinity, in the Reformed Sense, is no Clergy-man, but of the better sort of School-Masters; nor are they (by any model of Discipline that ever I yet saw or heard of) ordained, or claimed of an Apostolick Succession, but preferred by the Magistrate.

Whence

Whence it doth necessarily follow, That whosoever hath no other Title than what an *University Degree of Doctor* doth give them, they are no Clergy-men, nor in Orders; nor can they, by vertue of such their Degree, discharge the duty of *Presbyters* or *Ministers* at all: They cannot by vertue thereof pretend to a Succession to, or a being of old-descending *Clergy*. Nor can they Constitute and Ordain others, not only to be of the Clergy, but not to be Doctors, but it is the *University* must do it; out of the *University* they have no Power, no nor in it singly to do such acts. Nor do I believe, that the present *University* in *England*, would allow any to challenge such a Liberty at home, as is by this claim imposed on the Reformers.

It is also evident, That a Minister, whose principal and distinguishing Work is to Preach, supposing the Validity of Popish and Episcopal Orders (of which I have given you an account already) though ordained by them, cannot claim a Succession from them to such a Ministry: It is an Usurpation or Innovation, to which neither of them did ordain him. But that a Minister, being no Bishop, should erect such a Preaching-Ministry, and ordain others thereunto by vertue of a Popish or Episcopal previous Ordination of his own, is such a detestable Cheat, that I wonder at the insolvency of those *Presbyterians* that act so. The Orders which they received were those of a Romish

OR

or English Presbyter, neither of which by Ecclesiastical Constitutions had any Power to Ordain others. For, from *Jerom's* time (I would not, by this limitation of Time, be understood to prejudice the more Ancient Claim of the Bishops; but from what I say, as there is clear proof, so it is sufficient for my purpose) I say, that from before *Jerom's* time, Ordination was the appropriated Act of a Bishop: Which, whether it were an Usurpation or not, let them dispute. And let them make their Assertion never so plain, *viz. That Presbyters in times of yore, did and could lawfully Ordain Presbyters,* yet will the consequences, as to their so doing, be of no more validity, than if a Roman *Prætor* in *Justinian's* days should have challenged that Jurisdiction, which the *Prætors* of the Common-Wealth, or newly Established Empire of Rome formerly had exercised, notwithstanding that succeeding Emperors had appointed a *Præfectus Prætorio*, whose power had diminished, and almost rendered insignificant, the Authority of after-*Prætors*:. Or if our present English Grand-Juries should claim a power (to the prejudice of Parliaments of a later erection) of determining Law, as well as matter of Fact; because (possibly) in the *Saxon* times, a number of Men, called by some such Name, did practise some such Power.

Thus I have done with the business of the *Call of the Ministry*, nor need I say any more: Yet to let you see what Impostors these

these *Presbyterians* are, let me tell you this, that their Discipline, as it is now practised and maintained, is an *up-start thing*, not so much as bottomed on the *Geneva-Reformers*. Did these publick Cheats ever hear, amongst the *Beyond-Sea-Reformers*, of a *Catholick visible Church of Christ*, and of a *Ministry* that was not constituted in its Being and Essence of a *Church-Ministry*, by the Election of the particular Churches? 'Do not they say, that the Band is only mutual betwixt the Minister and that particular Congregation whereof he is Minister; and that one Congregation cannot appoint Ministers for another? And therefore when they are out of their Congregations, they are no Ministers, nor were acknowledged for such by the *Episcopal Divines*. If any of them shall engage hereafter in a discourse of the Ministry, I desire they would acquaint us with their *Genealogy*, and what Foundation they have to their Ordaining Ministers, as they do; where is that Election of the People which they avow to be necessary? Shall two or three forward *Presbyterians* in a Parish bring down a Fellow, made up of Ignorance and Malice, who hath only been thummed at *London, Bracktry or Dentry*, and he thereby become Pastor to a Parish [Church] made up of *Anabaptists and Quakers*, as well as *Episcoparians*? If this can be justified out of the first Reformers, or reconciled to their Principles, I profess myself very little conversant in their Writings.

Matth. St-cliff's answer to certain Calumnious Petitions, p. 117.

IX. Whether the Arguments of the first Reformers, about their Vocation, do not justify any that shall take upon them to Preach? (a) And in particular that of Morny du Plessis de Eccles. c. 14. p. 243. Whether Dominicus Soto do not prove it lawful *jure naturæ*? (b) And yet he is a Papist.

* Phil. Morny du Plessis, being urged about the Call of the first Reformers, saith, *Such Interrogatories are but the Tergiversations of Men already convinced in their own Judgments, who dare not abide the Trial; just as Zedekiah the false Prophet replied to Micaiah, 1 Kings 22. 24. When went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak to thee? And thus the Pharisees, Thou art the Son of a Carpenter, who sent thee? To whom we might determine the Controversie by Christ's own word: The words which we speak, they bear witness of us. The Jews prided themselves in their long descent from Abraham, and being his Successors. But what says Christ? You are, indeed, the Seed of Abraham, but yet you are of your Father the Devil, John 8. And Paul tells us, 2 Thess. 2. Let no Man seduce you, for Antichrist shall sit in the Temple of God. Having permitted these things, Morny thus argues: When a Town is on fire, or assaulted by the Enemy, by sea-land in the night; if any body should raise the sleepy Watchmen, or give an alarm to the Corps dugard, whether stranger or citizen, none ask by what authority he doth it, but all run for Water to quench the Fire, or to the Walls to repulse the Enemy; Men enquire*

' enquire into the case, whether his discovery be
 ' true, and do not arraign or implead him other-
 ' wise; yea, such a Man receives thanks for his
 ' timely discovering the danger. But we (saith
 ' he) alarm the Christian World, by discovering
 ' how Antichrist sits in the Temple of God; we
 ' offer to prove it, yet are we not regarded, nor
 ' our Reasons listened unto; but they clamour;
 ' Who are you? and punish us more heinously
 ' than if we were Traitors. Should any Gover-
 ' nour of a Citadel demean himself thus in cases
 ' of intelligence? Would not he soon be surprised
 ' by the Enemy? And would he not be condemned
 ' by his General or Governours for neglect? In
 ' the Conspiracy of Cataline, the Roman Senate
 ' derived that Intelligence, which prevented the
 ' Plot, from an Harlot; when the Capital was
 ' stormed by the Gauls, they took an alarm
 ' from the Geese. Let us therefore be never so
 ' mean, we ought to be afforded Audience. The
 ' Question is not, Who are We? But, Whether
 ' that be Antichrist? Seek not into the Qua-
 ' lity of the Relators, but the Truth of the Re-
 ' lation: Christ was promised to the Jews, but
 ' revealed to the Shepherds; these Shepherds
 ' divulged it among the People. If we may
 ' credit our Adversaries, those Men ought to have
 ' been questioned for it. The Brethren of Ephe-
 ' sus should also have ejected Un-commissioned
 ' Apollos for Preaching, but they received him,
 ' commending his Zeal, desired him to pass into
 ' Achaia, and wrote to the Brethren to receive
 ' him. — At the Dreadful Day, when Men are
 ' to give an account of their Talents, it will not
 ' be

' be a sufficient reply for any to say, they wanted
 ' Ecclesiastical Vocation, when they wanted not
 ' the great inducement of Christian Charity to
 ' employ that Talent, which was given them to
 ' profit with. The French Ministers, against
 whom Cardinal Perron writ, argue thus,
 ' In the Old Testament some were extraordina-
 ' rily raised to instruct the People: Why may it
 ' not be so under the New? The same motives
 ' are still remaining. Moreover they say,
 That it is not to be expected that Antichrist
 should commission Men to destroy himself; see
 Champney de vocat. Ministr. In fine, the
 Papists think they have sufficiently refuted the
 Call of the first Reformers, by shewing how all
 Sects may use the same Plea.

(b) ' The Church of Christ primarily, and
 ' likewise every Man, hath a Right, both
 ' Divine and Natural, to preach the Gospel
 ' every where. This is proved, First, from
 ' that of Mark 16. 15. Go ye into all the World,
 ' and preach the Gospel to every Creature. And
 ' Mat. 28. 18, 19. All Power is given to me
 ' in Heaven and in Earth: Go ye therefore and
 ' teach all Nations, &c. As if he had said,
 ' That Power which I have, do I give unto
 ' you: But he had Power to preach in all
 ' the World, therefore such Power did he
 ' give unto Believers. Secondly, By the Law
 ' of Nature every Man hath the liberty to
 ' teach others, and perswade them unto the
 ' Truth; therefore as far as Perswasion ex-
 ' tends, he may transact with every body.
 ' Which is further confirmed thus: Every
 ' Man

Man may instruct others in what is the Law of Nature; nor can be be deprived of that Right: Therefore he may teach also Gospel-Truths, since they are not of an inferior consequence. I do not say that he may compel them, or convince them therein; for supernatural things are not to be evinced out unto Men, but may be explained: And to do this, every one hath a right; the case is clear. *F. Dom. Soto. in 4. sentent. distinct. 5. qu. 1. art. 10. p. 154. c. 1.*

A Discourse of the Ministry out of Luther, &c. With an Apology for the Quakers.

IN the Constitution of the Clergy, there is to be considered but these two things, The Sacerdotal or Priestly Part; and the Ministerial or Preaching Part. Of the first (to say nothing of that, how the first Reformers did condemn the division of the Saints of God into the Clergy and Laity, as being profane) it is Luther's positive Judgment, and of which he bids us to be certain, and not suffer our selves, if we be Christians, any way to be drawn aside thereunto, 'That there is no visible and outward Priesthood under the New Testament, but what hath been erected by Satan, through the deceits of Men.

Luther de abrog. miss. privat. instruction. op. edit. Witteberge t. 2. f. 246. c. 1.

' The only Priesthood is that of Christ's,
 ' when he offered up himself for our Sins,
 ' *the just for the unjust*, (1 Pet. 3. 18.) and by
 ' that one Oblation did consummate for ever
 ' the Saints, (Heb. 10. 14.) This Priesthood
 ' is spiritual, and common to all Christians;
 ' nor need we any Priest or Mediator besides
 ' Christ. Every Priest (saith the Apostle,
 ' Heb. 5. 1. where he distinguisheth not
 ' as Men distinguish) is constituted, that he
 ' may pray for the People, and instruct
 ' them: But every Christian prays to God in
 ' Christ, and hath free access to him himself,
 ' Rom. 5. 2. And every one of them is taught
 ' of God, Isa. 54. 13. And all thy Children shall
 ' be taught of God. And Jer. 31. 34. They
 ' shall not teach every one his Brother, nor every
 ' one his Neighbour, saying, Know the Lord;
 ' For they shall all know me from the least to the
 ' greatest. And Isa 11. 9. The Earth is filled
 ' with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters
 ' of the Sea. Hereupon Christ himself, by
 ' Application of these Promises, saith, John
 ' 6. 45. It is written by the Prophets, They shall
 ' be all taught of God.

' These Testimonies do clearly evacuate
 ' all visible Priesthood-performances, by making
 ' those acts to be Universal, which make up
 ' the Essence and Being of a Priesthood, viz.
 ' Access to God by Prayer, and the Instructing
 ' of others. For what need, what use have
 ' we of a Priest, who have no need of any
 ' new Mediator or Teacher? Shall we in-
 ' stitute an Office or Function without any
 ' employ-

' employment ? There is not any Mediator,
' nor any Teacher of Christians, besides *Christ*
' himself.

It would be tedious to transcribe what
he farther adds, by way of proof, out of
1 Pet. 2. v. 3, 4, 5, 6. and Rev. 5. v. 10. It
being undeniably evident, that he dis-
avows any peculiar Officiating Priesthood to
be in the New Testament, calling all such
as pretend thereunto (and reply by distin-
ctions unto the Texts alledged, whereby to
elude their force) *Idolatrous, Sacrilegious, Profane, Ibid. f. 246.*
Hypocritical Persons, intolerable Burdens of the c. 2.
Earth, and useth much of that Language ;
which, when used by a well-meaning Qua-
ker, to the same ends, is termed Insupport-
able Reviling. He tells them their distinc-
tions and answers are *Additions to the Word of* Ibid. f. 247
God, and so from Satan. For if it be but a c. 1.
Man's Testament, yet if it be confirmed, no Man
disannulleth or addeth thereunto, Gal. 3. 15.
much more if it be the Testament of God.
And farther, to disprove such Oppositions
of Men, he saith, Men ought to have re-
course unto the ensuing Texts. *Prov. 30. 6.*
Add thou not to his [God's] words, lest he re-
prove thee, and thou be found a liar. And
Deut. 4. 2. Ye shall not add unto the word
which I have spoken, nor shall you diminish from
it. And *1 Pet. 4. 11. Let him that speaks,*
speak as the Oracles of God. ' In fine (saith
' he) what need I repeat all that the Pro-
' phets, Christ, and his Apostles, have said
' concerning the Works, Doctrines and Tra-

ditions of Men? It is manifest, *John* 8. 47.
He that is of God, heareth God's words. And
John 3. 31. *He that is of the Earth, speaks*
from the Earth. — It is an horrible thing
 which I am going to say, and I wish I
 might be found a liar, but it is too true:
 It is an Irrefragable Verity; that there are
 no Priests in Holy Scripture contra-distinct
 from the *Laity*; and they which have not
 their Establishment from the plain Word
 of God, have no Call of God; which is
 it not all one as if they were from the
 Devil? For none assumes this honour unto him,
 but who is called of God, as Aaron, *Heb.* 5. 4.
 These Arguments, as much as they are ex-
 ploded now, and this Language, as con-
 tumelious and bitter as it is now thought,
 was the bottom of the Reformation; and
 those, upon whose Foundation we now
 stand, did venture their *Lives*, their *Fortunes*,
 their *Souls*, hereupon. From these Con-
 victions did *Luther* cry out, *O fuge, frater,*
& desere hoc perditum Sacerdotium Papistarum!
 Fly Brother, and relinquish this corrupt
 Priesthood of the Papists! As for the *Teach-*
ing part of the Priesthood, whereof it seems
 (though not appropriated, yet) a part, and
 to that end is alledged by *Luther* [and
Dr. Featly, for a distinction betwixt *Clergy*
 and *Laity*] *The Priests Lips shall preserve Know-*
ledge, and the People shall seek for the Law at
his mouth, *Mal.* 2. 7. Here it is, saith *Luther*,
 that the *Popish Clergy* pride themselves, boast-
 ing also of that, *He who heareth you, heareth*
me;

Ibid. f. 247.
c. 2.

Ibid. f. 240.
c. 1

Ibid.

me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me,
 Matt. 10. That Holy Man is positive herein, *Ibid.*
 that as the Priesthood is a Fiction, so is this
 Ministry of the Word Fictions, Novel, and Sacri-
 legious; the true and only Ministry of the Word,
 being common to all Chri-
 stians. For so saith Paul,

‘ 2 Cor. 3. 6. Who hath
 ‘ made us fit Ministers of
 ‘ the New Testament, not

*This Opinion he derived from the
 Waldenses, Bohemians, &c. whose
 Assertion it was, That it was free for
 all to preach the Word of God, Usher
 de success. Eccl. c. 6.*

‘ of the Letter, but of the Spirit. This is spoken
 ‘ of all Christians universally, to shew they
 ‘ are all Ministers of the Spirit. A Minister
 ‘ of the Spirit, is one who teacheth the
 ‘ Doctrine of Saving Grace: A Minister of
 ‘ the Letter, is one who declareth the Law:
 ‘ The latter appertained to Moses, the for-
 ‘ mer to Christ. So Peter saith unto all
 ‘ Christians, That you may declare the Power of
 ‘ him who hath called you from Darkness to
 ‘ Light. What Christian, what Believer, is
 ‘ not called from Darkness to Light? But it
 ‘ is the Right, and Priviledge, yea, Duty of
 ‘ such, to declare the Power of him that
 ‘ hath so called them.

‘ We do grant this indeed, that many
 ‘ ought not to speak together, though all
 ‘ have the same Right and Liberty to speak;
 ‘ for Paul was the main Speaker, Acts 14.
 ‘ and whilst he spake, Barnabas held his
 ‘ Tongue. But doth it therefore follow,
 ‘ that Barnabas had no Right, or was not
 ‘ under a Necessity of Teaching? I say with
 ‘ the Apostle, 1 Cor. 14. 40. Let all things be

‘ done

‘ done according to Decency and Order. But
 ‘ hereby the *Universal Extent* of the *Ministry*
 ‘ is not destroyed, but confirmed; for it is
 ‘ therefore necessary that *Order* be observed
 ‘ in *Speaking*, because all have power to
 ‘ speak: If one only were to speak, and that
 ‘ by right, what needed the Apostle to men-
 ‘ tion *Order*?

It were endless, at least inconsistent with
 the design of this Treatise, to set down all
 which *Luther* disputes in that Book: Not
 far after, it follows, ‘ We will add this fur-
 ‘ ther Proof, which was also touched upon
 ‘ before, *John 6. 45. They shall all be taught*
 ‘ *of God. If all are taught of God, then not*
 ‘ only the *Shaveling Priests*; yea, who are
 ‘ more *Aliens* to the Teachings of God, than
 ‘ they who would be the *sole Teachers amongst*
 ‘ *Men*, those *Idol-Shepherds, anointed Rogues,*
 ‘ rather than *Priests*? If all are taught of God,
 ‘ then have all the *Spirit*, and in-dwelling
 ‘ Word of God. Wherefore not only the
 ‘ *Laity*, but the *Pope* [or any other imposed
 ‘ and imposing *Ministry*] must be subjected to
 ‘ them that are taught of God, unless they
 ‘ have an Exemption from being subject to
 ‘ the Word of God and his Spirit; for to
 ‘ him that is taught of God, the whole
 ‘ World, and the Angels from Heaven, must
 ‘ give way, and assent, because such *Obe-*
 ‘ *issance* or Opposition, reflects upon God that
 ‘ teaches him, and not the Man.

And yet these *Seven-foldly-mad Idols* of the
 Pope’s setting up, say, that the Pope is
 above

above the Church. [They say the same in effect, who urge their Expositions to be received by Men of a differing Judgment] for is not this to say, that the Pope is above them *who are taught of God*? But who can be above those that are *taught of God*, but who *exalts himself above God*? And so the saying of the Apostle is fulfilled, *The Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, and is worshipped.*

Mr. Henderson in his Papers to C. R. refuseth that the Scriptures be expounded according to the Fathers, because thereby the Fathers were exalted above the Scripture. Why then are we pressed for not receiving it with their Expositions who are no Fathers?

‘ But it may perhaps be objected, That
 ‘ every one hath not a Right to Preach,
 ‘ seeing that *some Christians* are enjoined to
 ‘ be silent. *Let your Women keep silence in the*
 ‘ Church; for it is not permitted unto them to
 ‘ speak, but to be under Obedience. Where-
 ‘ fore the Ministry cannot be Universal. I
 ‘ answer: So it is not permitted that *Mutes*,
 ‘ and such as are not able to deliver them-
 ‘ selves through any Impediment, should
 ‘ speak. This doth not deprive them of
 ‘ their Right, but debar them the Exercise
 ‘ thereof, which it is fitting they should put
 ‘ in practise, who are best able to do so,
 ‘ to preserve Decency and Order. Thus
 ‘ Timothy is commanded to depute unto the *Ibid. E. 249.*
 ‘ discharge of the Ministry *such as were fit*; *C. 1.*
 ‘ they who are not gifted and qualified, are
 ‘ not injured, if another perform that part.
 ‘ Women are not absolutely forbid to Speak

or *Teach*, but in the *Church*, [the *Apostle*
 writes to a *Church* of God, so that this
 Precept binds not to Silence in a place or
 Assembly that is no Church of God, how-
 ever it be called] to wit, for the Preser-
 vation of *Decency* and *Order*, in a place
 where there are many able to speak, and
 ready to do so. Nor doth the *Apostle*
 prohibit this of his own head, but he
 citeth the Law, saying, That *they ought*
to be subject, as the Law commands. By
 which Law he was assured, that the Spirit
 of God did not contradict it self, so as by
 the *Universality of the Ministry* to exalt that
 Sex above Men, to whom he had other-
 wise subjected them; yea, consonantly
 hereto, in such Assemblies, God being
 mindful of his Injunction, will command
 the Spirit, which breatheth when, how,
 and where it listeth, to inspire Men rather
 than Women, when both are present to-
 gether. How else can the Saying of *Paul*
 be reconciled to that of *Joel*? Doth it not
 interfere with that Prophecy of the Holy
 Ghost, *And your Daughters shall Prophecy?*
Joel 2. 28. Acts 2. 17. So *Philip* he had
 four Daughters, Virgins, which did Prophe-
 sie, *Acts 21. 9.* And *Miriam* the Sister of
Moses was a Prophetess; and so was *De-*
borah, which instructed *Baruch*; and *Hul-*
dah the Prophetess was sought unto by
King Hezekiah. In fine, The Song of the
 Virgin *Mary* is become the Song of the
 whole Church. And it is said by the
 same

* same Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 11. 5. Every
 * Woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her
 * head uncovered, dishonoureth her head. It is
 * only a regard to Order and Decency which
 * enjoyns Women to be silent in the Church,
 * where Men also are assembled and speak ;
 * but if no Men do speak, it is a Duty, a
 * Necessity, that is incumbent upon Women,
 * not to be silent.

Upon these premises (I set down but a
 part of his words now) doth Luther thus
 conclude, * We do, by Divine Authority,
 * with confidence and freedom of Spirit,
 * pronounce and declare [to the Popish
 * Priests, Predecessors to our Clergy, and
 * all such as introduce a restrained Preach-
 * ing] for so much as you do reign with-
 * out a Divine Warrant, *you are the Ministers*
 * *of Satan*, and your Ministry, together with
 * your Priesthood, was introduced by Satan
 * into the World, to destroy the *only true*
 * *Ministry* of the Spirit. For therefore did
 * you condemn this Opinion in *John Huss*,
 * that the World might not be instructed in
 * the Truth by *any Saint*, but all might be
 * confined up under Satan through your
 * corrupt Ministry. Hence it is that the
 * things you teach are but conformable to
 * that Ministry of yours. You have con-
 * demned and extinguished the Gospel, you
 * teach your own and *Aristotle's Lyes*, and
 * the Spirit of Satan prevails in all your
 * Books and Doctrines.—*Præstat publicum* Ibid. f. 250.
 * *lenonem esse aut latronem esse, quam hujus* c. 1.
 * *generis*

generis sacerdotem. It is better to be a common Pander, or Robber, than such a Priest, as our Clergy must avow to have been the Successors of Christ, and to have derived a Function to them.

Nor is this a rash and hasty Assertion of Luther's, but such as is avowed by him some Years after, in another Treatise of his about the Ministry, to the *Bohemian Protestants*; they had cast off the *Popish Doctrine*, yet did still preserve reverence for their Orders, they being only to be conferred by a *Bishop*; and they having none such in their number, they did usually send Men into the *Popish Territories*, to purchase, for a Sum of Money, Ordination from some Bishop: To dehört them from this usage, Luther wrote a Book to them, informing them how unworthy and unbeseeming an Act it was, for the Followers of *John Huss*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, to have recourse to him, who had burned them, and would burn as well as brand the *Bohemians* for Hereticks: How ridiculous, to resist him openly, and yet privately to recur to him for Orders, execrable and sacrilegious Orders; to profess Christ, and yet so far to honour the bloody Enemy of Christ, as to kiss his hands, and seek for from his Mouth, the Breathings of the Holy Ghost, who breathes nothing but Destruction to the Saints of God? It were more equitable (saith he) that you should not endure the Name of such Persons; if Paul enjoyns you to esloign your selves from the Whore-master and

De Instit.
Minist. inter
op. Lutheri
t. 2. f. 367. c. 1

' and Drunkard, How much more ought
 ' every Professor of Christ to decline and
 ' hate this Abomination, this destructive
 ' *Scarlet-Whore*, who maketh the Kings of
 ' the Earth drunk with the Cup of her For-
 ' nications? Then he tells them how *every*
 ' Christian is, by virtue of Christ's being our
 ' High Priest, partaker of the Sacerdotal
 ' Dignity, and advanced to be a King and
 ' Priest, and that other Priesthood there is
 ' none in Scripture, but what is common to
 ' all that are Members of Christ. To teach,
 ' to preach, to baptise, to break Bread, to bind
 ' and loose [declaratively, which is all that
 ' Protestants attribute to Ministers] to pray for
 ' others, to offer [themselves up a reasonable]
 ' Sacrifice, to judge of Doctrines, and try the
 ' Spirits if they be of God. These Acts, how
 ' great and royal soever they be, he proves
 ' at large to be communicated to all Believers,
 ' and not confined to any Order of Men.

' 1 Cor. 14. 26. When you come together, *every*
 ' *one of you* hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine,
 ' hath a Tongue, hath a Revelation, hath an In-
 ' terpretation: And afterwards v. 31. For ye
 ' may all prophesie one by one, that all may learn,
 ' and all be exhorted. Tell me now, what is
 ' meant by *every one*? Who are those *all*?
 ' Doth that *Universality* extend no further
 ' than the number of *Shorn Priests*? It is clear
 ' and evidently proved, that the *Ministry of*
 ' *the Word*, being the *highest Office* in the
 ' Church of Christ, as it is but one in kind,
 ' so it is common to all Christians, not by

Luther de
 Ministr. intern.
 op. T. 2. f. 368
 c. 2.

' Right

' Right alone, but special Precept. So that
 ' against those Proofs [which are no other
 ' than are daily alledged for *liberty of Pro-*
 ' *phesying* by the Saints of God amongst us,
 ' which oppose a limited Ministry] an In-
 ' finity of Fathers, innumerable Councils,
 ' everlasting Usage, immemorial Prescripti-
 ' ons, the whole World imbodyed into one
 ☆ ' Catholick Testimony (though this be the
 ' Hay and Stubble whereon these *Sbarvelings*
 ' do build) all are of no validity.——Ra-
 ' ther than be subjected to Popishly-ordained
 ' Ministers (for, Reader, you must know
 ' that these Priests were Protestants in *Do-*
 ' *ctrine*, and derived only Orders from Popish
 ☆ ' Bishops) it were better that every Master
 ' of a Family, and safer for him (and I do
 ' boldly counsel it) that he read the Gospel
 ' to his Relations at home, and Baptise his
 ' young ones, (which he is permitted to do,
 ' by the Usage, as well as Consent, of the
 ' whole World;) and if several Houses, or
 ' a whole City, or several Cities, should
 ' agree to do thus, though (to Eternity)
 ' they should never have a Priest among
 ' them; yet, without doubt, Christ would
 ' be in the midst of them, and own them
 ' for his Church.

Ibid. f. 365.
 c. 1, 2.

It is true indeed, that in the Conclusion
 he tells them, that in a gathered formed
 Church of Christians, all of which are en-
 dowed with the same Liberty, Order is to
 be preserved; and that, to prevent Confu-
 sion, it is necessary that one or more be
 appointed,

appoinred, not by a Popishly-ordained Clerk,
 but by the Assembly, for the constant Per-
 formance of the Work. But out of such an *Ibid. f. 371.*
 Assembly of Christians, where every one *c. 2.*
 hath a Right to do it, any one may dis-
 charge the Duty of a Minister. So that it is
 evident, where any Christian is under such
 Convictions, that this or that Assembly or
 number of Men is deceived and estranged
 from the ways of Godliness, it is no breach
 of Order for him to exercise a Ministry; nor
 is he by the Protestant Principles to be other-
 wise refused, than by shewing that He, (and
 not They,) is in an Error. None ought
 to impose upon any because they are Mini-
 sters: 'To be a Christian, is (I think, saith *Ibid. f. 371.*
 ' *Luther*) to have the Spirit of Christ, *who* *c. 1.*
 ' *will teach him all things,* and who partici-
 ' pates of the *All-instructing Unction*. In a
 ' word, a Christian is so assured of what he
 ' is to believe, or not believe, that he is
 ' ready to dye in Confirmation thereof.
 ' With what Face then can a Papist [or any
 ' else] tell a Lay-Christian, that he ought
 ' to believe them, and not himself? What is
 ' this else, than to challenge a Preheminence
 ' over the very Spirit of God, and as it were
 ' to say, though you are a Christian, and
 ' partake of the Holy Ghost, whereby you
 ' are ascertained what to believe, and what
 ' not; yet because the Holy Ghost is infe-
 ' rior to us, and we are much more learned
 ' and knowing than he, therefore he must
 ' be subjected to us, and hear us? It is fur-
 ther

Ibid. E. 372.
c. 1.

ther the Judgment of *Luther*, (not to acquaint you with the Practice of more ancient Christians) that as this Minister is to be elected by the Church, or assembled Christians, so he may be upon occasion Deposed and Excommunicated by them, and another substituted in his stead. And for the Validity of a Ministry so constituted, his Argument is, 'What two or three shall do, being met together in Christ his Name, and he being in the midst of them, may be esteemed as sufficiently warranted by Christ. And if we seek for Examples, behold *Apollas*, *Acts* 18. of whom we read, that without any Call or Ordination he came to *Ephesus*, and did fervently teach, and powerfully convince the *Jews*. By what Right, I pray, did he discharge the Ministry of the Word, but by that Universal and common Appointment, 1 *Cor.* 14. 30. If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: And 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. That you should shew forth the Praises of him, who hath called you out of Darkness into his marvellous Light? And this Man afterwards became an Apostle, without any Accessional Ordination, not only being Serviceable in the Ministry of the Word, but much benefitting those which already believed. Thus is every Christian obliged to do, if he see that there be occasion, and that he be able, though the Multitudes should not call him thereunto. How much more then, if he be intreated and called

called thereto by the Fraternity? Another example we find in *Stephen* and *Philip*, who were Only appointed for the Service of the Tables: And yet the one did very great Miracles and Signs amongst the People, and Disputed in the Synagogue, and Confuted them by the Spirit: The other converted the *Samaritans*, and went about to *Alexandria* and *Cæsarea*: I would fain know by what Authority or Right? Truly they were not entreated nor called by any to such Performances, but acted upon a General Account, whilst the Door was open to them, and they saw the Peoples Ignorance, and want of the sincere Truth, did render such their performances necessary. How much more would they have done it, if they had been desired thereunto by any?

Thus much I thought fit to represent unto the World, out of *Luther*, that from him, who was, I may say, the Founder of the Ministry, we might understand the Nature thereof: He who shall compare what I have set down, with what the Original Books contain, will easily satisfy himself, that if I have either injured *Luther* or my Reader, it is by parcelling out what might have been exhibited in whole Discourses. But what I have alledged will suffice for the end alledged; and I must desire leave so to quote one writer, as that I may not omit another.

*De divers.
grad. ministr.
c. 2.*

Hadrianus Saravia (a judicious Writer) speaking concerning the Call of the first Reformers, saith, That they needed not have recourse, as he thinks, to any Extraordinary Call: ' For, that any Christian versed in the Scriptures, might, and was bound, to ' Teach and Assert the Truth, and to Dis- ' prove false Doctrines about the Son of ' God, and Errors in other points of Faith. ' He also thinks that *Ephes. 4. 11.* by *Teachers* that are said to be given, is not meant the same with our *Ministers*, nor yet *Pastors*, nor such as *Beza* (I think, and others) would have in each Parish, one to ' Expound, who should be the Teacher or ' Doctor, and another to apply the Word ' by Exhortation, Consolation, &c. But since Teaching there is a Gift of God, he supposeth by them to be designed ' such as having knowledge of the Ways and Mysteries of God, do by Word or Writing ' Edifie the Church of God, of what condition soever they be. Such he repures *Solomon* (who is called in the Scripture, *Ibid. c. 26. Ecclesiastes* or the *Preacher*) and *David* to have been. ' Yea, saith he, though a Woman be prohibited to Teach in the Church; ' yet may She, if She be able, Write and

Beza, in his Reply to that Chapter, is so severe, that he doth not think it lawful for any who is no Pastor, though he be learned, or seem so, to Teach or Write about Divinity.

' Instruct privately her ' Domesticks. He saith, ' that though the Primitive Christians had no ' Schools at first, yet in ' their Churches did they ' permit

permits Doctors and Prophets (Lay-
 Teachers) to speak publicly; to whose
 Doctrine, if Sound, the Auditors were no
 less obliged, than if they had been Pastors,
 though they had not the Power of Ex-
 communicating the Refractory. In the
 Church at Corinth, *Stephanus*, *Fortunatus*
 and *Achaimus*, are said to have taught, yet
 doth it not seem that they were Bishops or
 Presbyters; so that we ought not to won-
 der, if the Reforming of Corruptions in
 that Church, were not enjoyned them;
 nor they reprov'd for not redressing them:
 They were necessitated to endure what
 they could not remedy till the coming of
Paul. In the Epistle to *Titus*, one might
 wonder why *Zenas* the Lawyer, and *Apol-
 los*, were not joyned in the same Com-
 mission with *Titus*, they being in Crete,
 and *Paul* knew of their being there; un-
 less that they were only Teachers or Do-
 ctors: Nor was it only in Extraordinary
 Cases, and upon the absence of other In-
 structors, that the Ancient Church did
 permit Lay-men to Teach the People open-
 ly. *Euseb.* l. 6. c. 13. saith concerning
Origen, That being not yet Presbyter, he taught
 School at *Cæsarea*, and was desired by the Bi-
 shops there not only to discuss Controversies, but
 to explain the Scriptures in the publick Assem-
 blies of the Church. Whereat, if *Demetrius*
 Bishop of *Alexandria*, were offended, and
 reprov'd him for so doing, yet we are to
 know that he did it out of Emulation,

H

and

and that the same Man had before sent
 Origen into Arabia to Teach the Gospel,
 and not disallowed his being Catechist at
 Alexandria. It was out of Envy then that
 he did reprove the Bishops for permitting
 a Lay-man publickly to expound the Holy Scri-
 tures. To which Exception of his, Alex-
 ander Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus
 Bishop of Casarea, did thus answer; Where-
 as you add in your Letters, that it was never
 heard of before, nor practised, that Lay-men,
 in the Audience of Bishops, should Dispute and
 Explain the Scriptures, therein you seem, to me,
 to aver things evidently False: For where there
 are sitting and able Persons, who may be help-
 ful to the Brethren in the propagation of the
 Word, there they are desired by the Holy Bishops,
 that they would Instruct the People in the Go-
 spel: As at Larand, Euelpis was intreated
 by Neon: At Iconium, Paulinus by Celsus;
 and Theodorus by Atticus at Synnade; all
 which were of the number of the pious Brother-
 hood, and it is probable, tho' we do not know it,
 that the same is and hath been practised else-
 where. Thus far Eusebius.

Vld. Nice-
 phor. l. 5.
 c. 14.

De divers.
 grad. minist-
 ter. in def.
 adv. Beza,
 s. 2.

Thus we see that there are more Prece-
 dents than Edesias and Frumentins, and the
 Woman who converted the Iberians, for Lay-
 preaching; nor is it only unquestionable
 (with Seravia) that a private Christian may
 instruct Infidels (And why not such as he
 esteems for no other, or to be in an Error?)
 if none else doth, by vertue of the General
 Commission, to Love his Neighbour: But that
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the Magistrate may constitute, notwithstanding a *Clergy* in being, private Christians to Instruct the People and Preach. ' And if ' the ordinary Pastors be Corrupt, all that ' are able ought to Instruct or Strengthen ' the Faithful, by their Writings; Nobles, ' Princes, and common People, all may turn ' Divines, to Write, Exhort, or otherwise ' Edifie: Yea, in a general Corruption (*of* ' *which every Man is to satisfy himself, and so* ' *to act*) whoever he be that is able to de- ' fend and illustrate the Truth, if he have ' opportunity, he is bound to put out the ' Talent of his Master to Use; if he neglect ' to do so, in the Judgment of God, he ' shall incur the same Condemnation with ' that Servant, who did Napkin-up, and ' bury his Talent; and so be guilty of not ' having confessed Christ before Men. They ' who are not so far induced as to Preach, ' ought to Write; as *Justin Martyr, Atbe-* ' *nagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus*, being pri- ' vate Christians; and *Boethius* a Noble Man; ' as also of late, *Mornay du Plessis*, and others ' have done.

Seravia in
def. cap. se-
cundi adv.
Beza.

I could here cite many more Passages of the same nature with what I have already alledged; but it hath been fully debated betwixt the *Independents* and *Presbyterians* of late, in several Books, *viz.* That to Preach, it is not necessary any one be ordained by *solemn imposition of Hands*, but it is a Moral Duty, incumbent on All that are Able and Gifted, to Instruct others, and Preach unto

them. This hath been largely and judiciously debated by Mr. Petto, and Mr. Woodall, in a Book called, *The Preacher Sent*, and the late *Defence* thereof: But I shall particularly fix upon what Dr. Owen lays down in his *Latine Exercitations* against the *Quakers*:

Exerc. 2.
S. 7.

Where he speaks concerning the *Interpreting of the Scriptures*, he lays it down for an indubitable Truth, and which hath been proved to be such by the Reformed Divines:

‘ That the Only, Publick, Authentick, and
 ‘ Infallible Interpreter of the Holy Scripture, is
 ‘ he who is the Author of them, from the
 ‘ breathing of whose Spirit, it derives all
 ‘ its Verity, Perspicuity and Authority. This
 ☆ Author and Interpreter of the Scripture is
 ‘ the Spirit, partly speaking in the Scripture,
 ‘ and plainly setting down his Mind therein;
 ‘ and if there be any doubtful or obscure passages therein, explaining himself
 ☆ by that Analogy or Harmony of the
 ‘ whole Doctrine which is found therein,
 ‘ and partly infusing a Spiritual Light into
 ‘ our Hearts, whereby we may be led into
 ‘ the knowledge of all necessary Truths revealed in the Word.

☆ And therefore as there never was any visible
 ‘ Judge of Faith appointed by Christ, so neither
 ‘ is there any use or need of such an Arbitrator.

‘ Secondly, That every private Christian
 ‘ hath it as a Duty incumbent upon him,
 ‘ to inquire into the Mind of God, in the
 ‘ Scriptures, that is, to seek into the meaning

ing of them by all requisite means, and
 to expound them to himself for his own
 Edification: For, *The Just shall live by
 his Faith.*

As for the power of Teaching others, and
 Preaching to them (I speak not of such as
 are imbodyed in a *Congregational Church*,
 what a private Person amongst them may
 do at the request of the Brotherhood: That
 a Gifted Member may lawfully Teach pub-
 licly in such Circumstances as Violate not
 Order and Decency, is proved by the said
 Dr. §. 12, 13.) that a private Christian
 without any Ordination may Preach pub-
 licly, I think you may learn from this fol-
 lowing Discourse.

In that Community which is betwixt
 God and Man, thorough a Relation which
 a reasonable Creature cannot but have to
 a good Creator, from whence ariseth his
 indispensable necessity to Worship and
 Obey him: It is requisite that all should
 know him, and what is his Will, accord-
 ing to the degree of means conducing
 thereto, which is graciously afforded them.
 This is the great dictate of Nature, and
 prescript of the Law. This Duty is no less
 imprinted in the Heart of Man, than in
 the Decalogue. Amongst the means which
 God makes use of for the discovery of
 himself, the Holy Scripture is not only the
 most excellent of all others, but as to fa-
 vouring Truths, it is the sole and only mani-
 fester thereof. — As the Knowledge of

Marc. 12.
30, 31.

Arist. rhe-
tor. 1. 2. c. 2.

John 17. 3.

Ibid. §. 15.

God attended with the Spiritual Subjection
of the Soul unto him intirely, is the prin-
cipal Commandment in the First Table; so
in the Second, the main thing enjoyned,
is the Love of our Neighbour. Now to Love
another, is to wish and will unto him, all those
things which we think good for him, and as
far as it doth lye in our Power, to procure him
them. And the more perfect discoveries
of things that a Lover hath, the more
perfect and excellent is that Good which
he wishes, and cannot but wish unto him
whom he Loves. Now since this Love
must be of a very Transcendent Degree,
and proportioned to that wherewith we
Love our Selves; it cannot be such, unless
we do desire to Communicate and Impart
unto our Beloved, as far as in us lyes,
that which is the Principal of all Goods:
And since the Knowledge of God is Life Eter-
nal, and consequently the chiefest good
which one can wish unto another, it
follows from the dictates of this com-
manding, and commanded Love, that it
is not Arbitrary for any to will or refuse
to Instruct another in this saving know-
ledge, if he be able so to do, but all are
indispensably obliged to this performance,
as their Duty.

Where God doth graciously dispense of
his Word according to his good Pleasure,
he doth therewith, thorough Jesus Christ,
distribute of his Spirit and Gifts plenti-
fully and variously, whereby the Saints
are

are enabled and fitted to *instruct* others in
the Knowledge of God, 1 Cor. 12. Nor
doth he make this distribution only to such
as are solemnly called to the Work of the
Ministry in some particular Church by
(what do you call it?) *Ordination*: It is
necessary that a Man be so gifted, before
he receive Imposition of Hands; and some
are so gifted, and yet never take upon
them the Work of the Ministry. *But all
these things worketh that one and the self same
Spirit, dividing to every Man severally as he
will, 1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 4. 7.*

‘ If now there be any Believer endued §. 16:
‘ with the Knowledge of God, and qualified
‘ with such Spiritual Graces as are requisite
‘ for the Teaching of others ; and he have
‘ a mind to serve God in the *Work of the*
‘ *Gospel* ; and also *Time, Place,* and all
‘ other Circumstances necessary for the up-
‘ holding of *Order and Decency* do concur,
‘ **We do pronounce** it to be lawful for
‘ such a one to Preach the Gospel, to Ex-
‘ pound the Scripture, to make Sermons to
‘ the People, although he be not entred into
‘ (such as Men call) *Holy Orders.*

‘ And indeed *why should not he do so?* Shall §. 17.
‘ he be reputed *destitute of a true Call*; or
‘ to be *ambitious, or usurp upon what is the Duty*
‘ *and Work of another*; or to introduce a new
‘ and *unusual Custom* into the Church of God;
‘ or to be *Troublesome and Faction*, or to ex-
‘ ceed *his just Boundaries* any way? So *some*
‘ *Men* say indeed; who, if they have laid
‘ aside

*Qui si pudor
vis egeant,
saltem in
hoc loco
Evangelii
mutuo su-
merent.*

‘ aside all SHAME, should at least resume
‘ it in an Age so quick-sighted as ours is.
‘ Men that are of *any Learning and Piety*
‘ will, I know, consider well before they
‘ embrace such an Opinion, what *Call* is
‘ requisite for a Man to perform a *Moral*
‘ *Duty*, whence it hath its Rise, and what
‘ more it doth comprehend besides *Spiritual*
‘ *Endowments*, and a *suitable ordering of Affairs*
‘ *by Providence*. It hath not yet been proved,
‘ nor ever will be, that a Holy Purpose, and
‘ frame of Spirit [to reduce Men unto the
‘ Truth, and sincere Gospel of Jesus Christ]
‘ together with Qualifications competent
‘ for the Edification of others, besides the
‘ Commands of Christ for imploying there-
‘ of, (if Providence make way for such ex-
‘ ercise of them) doth not compleat a *Call*.
‘ And if it do, all is well; for we pre-sup-
‘ posed those Conditions.

§. 18.

‘ Nor doth he violate by *such his Actings*,
‘ any *solemn Office* of any *peculiar Function*.
‘ It is certain, that the Care to discharge
‘ some *Moral Duties*, is in an especial manner
‘ enjoyned to them who are the establish’d
‘ Ministers of the Churches; but that all
‘ others are, through *such Delegation*, prohi-
‘ bited the Performance thereof, this is false.
‘ There was never instituted such a peculiar
‘ Office for some Men, as that the residue
‘ of Mankind should be freed from that
‘ Charge which the Law of Nature, and
‘ the *Injunctions of Christ*, had laid them un-
‘ der: Nor would God place such an heavy,
‘ nay,

‘ may, insupportable Yoke upon the Ministers, thereby to exempt others from his Commands: Nor are we responsible for the Faults or Obedience of others; *The Just shall live by his Faith.*

‘ As for the Confusion which this will §. 19.

‘ introduce, it is not for them to object it, who make use of New and Paradoxical Inventions, viz. of ordaining Presbyters absolutely, that is, without respect to any Flocks or Churches to be under their Charges respectively, (as being the appointed Overseers thereof by the Holy Ghost) which kind of Ordination is not only prohibited that it should not be practised, but in case it be practised, it is declared to be null and invalid; and yet inveigh against (*) such as undertake the cure of a number of Men, to whom they will not administer the Sacrament.

This is a Reproof of the Presbyterians, (whom he in the precedent Paragraph charges with lack of Shame) and such Ordination was condemned by Luther, *de ministr. Eccl. Inter op. T. 2. f. 365. c. 2. Now Men are ordained at Uncertainties, as many as are ordained, so as scarce any knows whose Priest he shall be.*

(*) It may be I mis-render him here, the place is obscure; but such practise is not warrantable in the *Independents*, to take Parsonages *cum cura*, and hold them *sine cura*, to take Tithes (which they think Evangelically unlawful) and yet not do what is legally to be expected by the Laws they hold them.

‘ If I were to produce Examples for the warranting of our [charitative] Preacher, it would not be difficult for me to deduce that, thorough all Ages unto our Times, to evidence that it is no Novel Usage in the Church.

‘ Finally,

§. 20.

Finally, If it be *unlawful* for a Man, not entered upon Holy Orders, to expound the Scripture, or preach the Word of God, in the Circumstances pleaded for, then it is either intrinsically unlawful, and in it self, or by reason of some *Adjuncts* and *Circumstances*; or else it is, perhaps, somewhere expressly prohibited in the Scripture: It cannot be unlawful in its own Nature, unless it be absolutely unlawful for any Man, who is not a Minister of the Word, to instruct another in the Knowledge of God. But I think there is not any who profess Christianity, who are yet so mad as to say so: Cain indeed, who was born of that evil one, and slew his Brother, did deny before God, that he was his Brother's keeper: But that was a Saying fit for him (and his Followers) who, next to Satan, was the first Man-slayer. How far God hath made every Man his Brother's Keeper, as to what respects his eternal Condition, I have already shewed; and they who believe that Faith in Christ was comprised in the Law given to our first Parents, will not deny the Preaching of the Gospel to be a *Moral Duty*. The Circumstances whereby we are to examine the Case controverted, are, either that he doth instruct a *member*, or that he doth it *out of course*: But these are such, as if the *Work* be good in it self, may pass for Commendations and high Endearments of the Man, rather than to inabilicate him: For there can be no Reason given, why,

' why, if I may instruct One or Two in the
 ' Knowledge and Fear of God, I may not
 ' in like manner, instruct many more; and that
 ' out of Course, or ordinarily. They who affirm,
 ' That it is not lawful for any Believer,
 ' though never so gifted, and fit to teach,
 ' for to do thus, unless he be separated
 ' from amongst the rest, by a solemn Ordina-
 ' tion in some Church; it is incumbent on them
 ' to prove that there is such a Prohibition,
 ' which hitherto, I think, none of them
 ' have done.

I have cited this Passage of Dr. Owen's,
 the rather, because it gives me occasion to
 speak somewhat of those who are com-
 monly called *Quakers*: I am sorry he hath
 in so bitter a manner reviled an *Innocent sort*
 of Men, who might have merited better
 Usage, if not upon the account of their re-
 semblance to the *Primitive Asceticks*, who
 alone upheld *Christianity* of old, yet for their
 adhering to a *Cause*, wherein the *Doctor* is
 engaged, and which if it fall, he must be
 involved in the Ruine thereof. It were not
 difficult to re-charge him with Fanaticalness,
 since the Expressions of his, *Exercit. 3. 15. 16.*
 That God delegated to him the Employ-
 ment of Writing against them; and that it
 is *mandatum minus*, a Work enjoyned him
 by the Lord: These being not to be ex-
 cused by Providential Circumstances, would
 justify the Imputation. But since I believe
 that he is in great part undeceived in his
 sinister Opinions concerning them, so I shall
 not

not contribute any thing towards the widening of a Breach, which is not at that distance as is vulgarly imagined.

If these Men have one *common Analysis* of *their Faith*, with what Dr. Owen professeth, (besides their symbolizing with him in other Opinions) I hope then, either *both*, or *neither*, will be found to be *Fanatical*, and the difference between them will only prove *gradual*, not *specifical*, in their *Enlightenments*.

✧ If they count the *General Ministry* of the *Nation Babylonish* and *Anti-Christian*, as bot-tomed on a *Successive Ordination* from the *Pa-pacy*, Dr. Owen doth so too, and proves it.

✧ If they say, their *Churches* are not *Churches* of *Christ's Institution* and *Way*, (I speak not of the *Walls*, whose *relative Holiness* is denied by both *Presbyterian* and *Independent*) Dr. Owen doth so too, and proves it.

✧ If they think there is no *Catholick Church*, nor no *National Church*, but what is the *Product* of *Humane*, rather than *Scriptural De-cisions*, and that they are not concerned in a *Separation* from the one or other, as to mat-ter of *Conscience*: All this, I think, is al-lowed, and proved by Dr. Owen.

✧ Do they think *Tythes Anti-Christian*? They who knew Dr. Owen in the *Army*, knew he profess'd it was his *Doctrine* then; and if he be an *Independent*, it must be so still.

Do they condemn *University-Habits*, and the *Ministry-distinguishing Black*? The for-mer is condemned by Dr. Owen, and so (if all were known) the latter.

Do

Do they *Contemn Ordination*? Do they *vilifie Humane Learning, Philosophy, and those other Qualifications* which render a Man rather a worldly *Virtuoso*, than *Heavenly Preacher*? They who have heard Dr. Owen Preach at *Oxon*, and they who are acquainted with his Practise, imagine their dissent herein not to be very great.

Do they think *Preaching* not to be a *distinct Calling*, but a *Moral Duty*, which all upon occasion are obliged to, and do they practise accordingly? You see Dr. Owen defends them.

In fine, Whatever they say (that I can now remember) concerning the *Scripture* and the *Light within them*, hath it not a greater Affinity with Dr. Owen's Opinion, than *Light hath with Darknes*? Doth not he tell them, in the words alledged by me in the beginning out of him §. 7. That the *Only, Publick, Authentick and Infallible Interpreter of the Scripture, is the Spirit that gave it*? Doth not he say, That another *visible Arbitrator of Controversies arising from Scripture, is Useless, as well as Unwarranted by the Word of Christ*? Doth he not say, That it is from the *Afflatus, or Inspiration of the Spirit, that the Scripture hath its Authority, Verity and Perspicuity*? Doth he not say, That the *Spirit, by internal Enlightnings, doth lead us into all necessary Knowledge*? Doth he not say, That the *Just shall live by his Faith; and that he is not to acquiesce in the Sentiments of another, but in order to the Edification of his own Soul, to enquire*

enquire into the Mind of God himself, by the help of an infused Light, without which the Scriptures have neither Authority, Verity, or Perspicuity? Yes, all this he doth say; only he adds, That the Holy Ghost is the *Expositor of the Scripture*, as speaking therein. Truly this Appendix I had not much reason to take notice of, it being to me unintelligible, as understood of the whole Scripture: The Holy Ghost speaking in the Scripture, is no more than the Scripture spoken by the Holy Ghost; which, being complexively taken, cannot be both *Text* and *Exposition*; no more than *Littleton* is *Cooke* upon *Littleton*. One might have said it was clear, perspicuous, and needed no Comment; but not that it was a Comment to it self. It would be a surprising Title in a Book seller's Shop, if instead of the ordinary Bible, he should inscribe it, **The Holy Ghost's Exposition upon the Bible.**

Waving then this irrational Appendix; Are the Quakers Fanatical, if they regard not the *Expositions* of fallible Men, private, contradictions, and no way Authentick; since besides the internal Expositor, an external, visible, infallible, authentick, publick Expositor is as far from being needful, as he is from being constituted by Christ, in the Judgment of the Reformed Divines and Dr. Owen. Dr. Owen would do well to write a *Treaty*, to shew the Needfulness of Deceitful Expositors, and the neediness of unerring Expositors, for to help out the Holy Ghost: In the mean

mean while it will not be a very culpable Tenderness in the *Quakers*, if they will not *hew out broken Cisterns*, which Dr. Owen assures them *will hold no Water*.

Are they Fanatical, if they *bid Men live up to the Light within them, which will lead them into all Knowledge*; since Dr. Owen assures them, that without the *Afflatus*, or Inspiration of the *Holy Ghost* (which is all one with the *Light Internal*) the Scripture hath no Authority, Truth or Perspicuity; that to understand or apprehend these qualities in the *Bible*, they must have the *Light* infused into their own Souls particularly; and without this there can be to them neither *Scripture* or *Salvation*? The difference is only whether the *Quakers* do not mistake Nature for Grace, and esteem of that to be a *Light of Christ* which is a *Light of Nature*: I profess I think they do not; and they have numerous Defendants, and Learned, which avow the *Universal Light* resulting from the *Death of Christ*, dwelling in every Man, which will, if attended to, bring him to *Salvation*; and that this is not Nature but Grace. Indeed it is a plausible Argument that is drawn from *Rom. i. 19, 20*. If the *Gentiles* and *Universality of Men* have so much *Light Internal*, as that the neglect or mis-using thereof, renders them in-

If this do not convince it; it is but introducing a new Hypothesis or Method in *Divinity*, as *Amiraldus*, and after him *Mr. Baxter* have done, and it may be demonstrated. But concerning this I may hereafter speak, in a Discourse how *Christ* is the *First-born of every Creature*, *Col. i. 15*.

excusable;

excusable; then if they do use it well, they may be not excusable: If not inexcusable, then excusable; if excusable, then excused; if excused, then saved: But there is no Salvation but by Christ, he is Life, and he is Light, therefore all this is ascribed rightly by them, unto that In-dwelling Light which is the *Author* and *Finisher* of Faith.

The Controversie then betwixt Dr. *Owen* and the *Quakers* doth not lye in this, that the *Quakers* do Preach; for it is a Duty incumbent upon them to bring others into the Light wherein they do walk; It is a Moral Duty: But he thinks that they mistake Light for Darknes. This then ought to be refuted, not they censured for their good will; whose Charity might deserve our Thanks, rather than Scorn and Reproach (if we would learn from the Heathen *Antonins*) if their Errors did not Merit our assent.

Nor is the Controversie whether Gifted Men may Preach, but who are Gifted? And here if the *Arrians* condition was alleviated by *Salvian*, because they did account of the Orthodox for Hereticks, as the Orthodox did also repute them for such; Why may not the *Quakers* be favoured so, if they think others to be as Fanatical, as they are themselves supposed to be? The same may be said in the behalf of them, as to the Circumstances in which they speak; they esteem of Decency and Order one way, Dr. *Owen* perhaps another.

Seeing

*Seeing I have gone thus far in an Apology
for the poor despised Quakers, I shall
proceed to remove some Vulgar Objecti-
ons that are made against them.*


SOME there are that demand of them Mi-
racles, as a Testimony of the Spirit
wherewith they are acted. To these I an-
swer, with *Anton. Sadeel*, That it is an Evil
and an Adulterous Generation that seeketh after a
Sign, *Matth. 12. 39.* and *ch. 16. 4.* and *Paul*
tells us, *The Jews require a Sign, 1 Cor. 1. 22.*
And if when Miracles were frequent in the
Church, even then they were condemned
who did seek after, and adhere unto them;
How intolerably insolent are they who re-
quire them now, that they are ceased? Be-
sides, What Miracles did *Obadiab*, *Nabum*,
and several others of the ancient Prophets,
who declared heretofore the Truth, yet
were they extraordinarily called? And to
use *Chrysostome* his words, *What Miracle did*
*John the Baptist, who instructed so many Peo-
ple and Towns? For the Evangelist saith positive-
ly, He did no Miracles, John 10. 41.* Yet
who will thereupon say that *John* had not
the Spirit, or was not extraordinarily exci-
ted to Preach Repentance to the People?
Moreover, when the Lord bids his People
not to believe the Miracles of the false Pro-
phets, *Deut. 13.* he doth sufficiently instruct
us what use we ought to make of Miracles:

*De vocat
ministr.*

*In Matth.
hem. 47.*

✧ In a word, since many true Prophets have done no Miracles, and sundry false Prophets have done some, it is a Sign that Miracles cannot satisfy a Rational Curiosity about a Call or spiritual Endowments: It is true, that of Antichrist, *His coming is after the working of Satan, with all Power, and Signs, and lying Wonders,* 2 Thess. 2. 9. But God shall (saith the Apostle) confound him with the Spirit of his Mouth, and the Brightness of his Coming, Ibid. v. 1. Much more might be replied for them in this point, out of Morney du Plessis, Donnerus, and others, who have satisfied the Papists, who demanded Miracles from them who first attempted to reform the Church.

In their Writings you may find Answers to all such Objections as are general against a party designing a Reformation.

 I have known some offended at the miscarriages of some Quakers, and thereupon declaimed against the whole Sect: These Men would certainly have condemned the Apostles for one Judas; and extirpate the Good Corn, by reason of a mixture of Tares. If such a procedure may be allowed, the most condemning Party in England would be the greatest Sufferers by it.

Some object, That if they have the Spirit in such a measure, they may Expound all difficult places in Scripture, and reconcile Contradictions: And I have known some to take this course whereby to expole them. But I must tell such Men, this was not a thing

thing to be performed by the first Reformers, no nor yet by Apostles and Primitive Christians; who, that they were endowed with the Holy Ghost, it is unquestionable: So Peter saith that in Paul's Epistles, *There are some things hard to be understood*, 2 Pet. 3. 16. Whether he spake this as that they were so to him, or to other Christians in those days, it is evident that there may be some things in Scripture difficult to those that have the Spirit. And this will further appear from Paul's own deportment: 1 Cor. 6. His Judgment had been asked concerning several things, v. 1. Yet hereto he answers sometimes as from God, v. 10. *Unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord*; sometimes from himself, v. 12. *But to the rest speak I, not the Lord*. So v. 25, 26. *Now concerning Virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment, as one that hath obtained Mercy of the Lord to be Faithful*. I suppose therefore. — This inequality in the Apostle's answer, doth sufficiently shew that we are not to be too peremptory, in demanding a satisfaction to all Doubts, even from Men of the highest Illuminations: *We know in part, and we prophesse in part*, 1 Cor. 13. 9. Shall an Apostle say this, and is it intollerable in a Quaker?

But they are illiterate Persons, unacquainted with Tongues and Languages. It is true, and I profess I never knew that the Gift of Tongues was Universal, or ought to be so. Not to recriminate upon the first

Where was
Learning a-
mongst the
Waldenses
and Picards?

Cunæ de rep.
Heb. 1. 3. c. 7.

Moethinks I hear the managers of this objection to speak as the Heathen Sophister, *Libanius*, did against the Christians; yea, and their Ministers under *Theodosius*, *εὐτάτω μὲν τις τῶν τὰς ὡν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ σαρὰς καὶ ἀκρονας ἀνέμων, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων ἀξίωντων διαλέγεσθαι*. Let us [not] hear what these Men say concerning Heaven, God and Goodness, who come forth Black and Sooty, from the *Smiths Forge and Anvil*. *Liban. orat. pro Templis. p. 13. edit. Gothotredi.*

Ages, not to tell you that in the *Nicene Council* (whose Creed is so famous) there was not one that understood *Hebrew*; not to bespatter the present Ministry, doth not the *Apostle*, *1 Cor. 14. 26.* distinguish betwixt a *Doctrine*, a *Tongue*, a *Revelation*, an *Interpretation*, as things that might be found in several Persons, and yet they have the Spirit? If this Exception be of any validity, then is that whole Chapter overthrown, and Men must covet no less to speak with *Tongues*, than to *Prophecie*. But further, Did not *Christ* choose *Illiterate Men* for *Disciples*? Is not the Gospel of *John* as bad *Greek* as any *Quaker's English*? I say nothing of the difference betwixt *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, &c. Hath not God chosen the Foolishness of the World, to confound the Wisdom thereof? *1 Cor. 1. 27.* And whereas it is usually said, That he called the Ignorant, but he did not leave them so, but Gifted them. I desire to know how this can be reconciled to what

the *Apostle* saith (and what all Records ascertain us of) that amongst the first Christians, there were not many wise Men after the *Flesh*? *1 Cor. 1. 26.* Where is the *Wise*? Where is the *Scribe*? Where is the *Disputer* of this *World*? *1 Cor. 1. 20.* If what these Respondents say be true, it had been ealie

to tell *Paul*, that amongst the Christians there were not any or many wise and suitable Disputants through acquired Parts, but there were by Grace.

But they mis-cite *Scripture*: Who is the Judge thereof? Who art thou, O Man, that judgest? They stand, or fall, to themselves. It is not by Logical Deductions that we are to try *Apostolick Spirits*; either as to *Assertions* or *Citations*. He that will experiment this, let him consider well, *Matt. 11. 15, 17, 23. Rom. 9. 13. Matt. 27. 9. Gal. 3. 16. Heb. 6. 16.* though indeed the whole *Epistle* to the *Hebrews* is full of such Arguings as are very obscure to the most acute Disputant, and such oftentimes as nothing can verifie, but that they proceed from an infallible Spirit, which renders the Consequence materially and not formally good. And so what will justifie those Discourses, will avail a Quaker, if he be sure that what he says is of God, who when he speaks, makes all *Assertions* true, *Consequences* warrantable, and *Citations* past doubt.

As for what is usually objected against a Sufferance of Quakers, that they so oppose Magistracy and Ministry, as that no Civil Government in Prudence can tolerate them. Since hereby what there is of Speculation in their Religious Opinions is waved, and rendred as tolerable as *Aminians*, *Supralapsarians*, &c. I shall speak briefly to their *Practise*, and *Practical Opinions*. It is undeniable that they do the Magistrate very good

Service in reclaiming such, as neither Minister nor Magistrate perhaps ever speak to, from their wicked Ways unto more wholesome Morals: And of this there is very good Experience in the Northern Counties.

*Iusto lex
non est po-
sita: yet is
not he
therefore in-
sufferable in
a Republick.*

Nor can I see how they oppose Magistrate or Laws, otherwise than the Philosopher did, who said, he owed that to Philosophy, *To live so under Laws, as he should do without*

Laws. They do not transgress, only upon another Principle perform the same things. They are so against the Magistrate, that (like to what the Apostle would have, 1 Cor. 6.) they never go to Law. But some will say, they violate the Laws by not paying *Tithes*. But this is false, for he who submits to the Punishment, doth as really fulfil the Law, as the most Pharisaical *Tithe-Payer*. But they

*This is a-
vowed by
Lipsius ma-
gre all Op-
position.
Adv. vossia-
tores.*

will not put off their Hats; they say *Tbou* and *Tbee* to the Magistrate. Truly this is a small Argument of a Repugnancy to Magistrates. In *Rome* they wore neither Hats

nor Caps; neither Magistrates nor others usually; yet did not this overthrow their Magistracy. In *Rome* they did always (as also in *Greece*) *Tbou* their Magistrate, yet was it not Sedition. *Erasmus* hath a Discourse against *you* or *vos*, in the behalf of *Tbou* or *Tu*; which Address, if our Magistrate resent, we always bestow it upon God in Prayer. *Luther*, in his *Lusus*, Sports himself with it, laughing at that *Magister vos estis iratus*, or, Master you are angry. In *Spain* it is Contumelious to say *You*. And

you.

what

what we now contend about, is no more than a *French Fashion* in Speech, and hath no more of Disobedience in it, than Plainness of Cloaths hath against the Gaudy Apparel of Rulers, and Soft Raiment in Princes Courts. But if all I have said were nothing, yet since what they do is out of Conscience, I see not why they, who should never eat a *Rump of Beef*, whilst the World stands, rather than offend their Brother, should so insist upon Words. I think the whole Discourse in *Rom. 14.* will excuse them, more than their Adversaries. They neither refuse to obey, or discharge Magistracy; they deny that any such thing is consequential to their Tenets: Why then is it not as good Logick in their behalf, *Sublato consequente tollitur antecedens*; as for their Condemnation, *Posito antecedente ponitur consequens*?

I know divers Reports are given out, concerning several enormous Acts and Miscarriages of some *Quakers*; but I am so well acquainted with the Stratagems of Satan in this kind, how Christ himself, and afterwards the first Christians, were aspersed, (as you may see in *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius Felix*, &c.) and what hath been of our Reformers, that I shall not entertain an ill Opinion of them thereupon, no not though I see Processees printed, and the Ministers (of Lies) attest it. It were easie to recriminate; but their Endeavours must be, not to suffer as *Evil-doers*, but to be otherwise spoken of, they must not expect.

The *Presbyterians* are so well known to be Enemies to all Magistracy, that their Government is inconsistent with it, and all the *Popish* and *Lutheran* World cry out of them. The *Quakers* take no Oaths, the other never keeps them, as they are upbraided, and the *Judicium Oxoniense* tells them. I pass by ancient and modern *Practises* in *Scotland*, the late *Rebellion* in *Lancashire* sufficiently shews them. Had the *Quakers* made any such Attempt, How had they been decried? How barbarous would it have been, for them to act for their Truths, what the others designed? The Parliament may learn in part, from *Matt.* 21. 28, 29, 30, 31. the difference betwixt the *Presbyterians* (that so flattered *R. C.*) and the *Quakers*, in the two Sons. The one, like the *Presbyterian*, tells the *Magistrate*, I go *SIR*, but goes not: These are undoubtedly Enemies to Magistracy. The other omits the deference of *SIR*, the *Congee*, and the wagging of the *Cap*, but goes. Certainly, if that Son, who told his *Father*, He would not go, yet repented, and went, is by our *Saviour* allowed to have fulfilled his *Father's Commands*: They who will follow *Christ*, must remit of their Harshness to the *Quaker*, who says not so, but goes.

Yea, but they debase the Magistracy they execute, because they omit the Splendour of it. The *Common-wealth* of *Rome* will attest the contrary, which was best governed, when her *Magistrates* had not that *Pomp* and *Splendour* which is now cried up. A

good Life, Gravity, and Stayedness, are more prevalent for the keeping of the most Barbarous in *Subjection* (as is evident among the *Tartars* also) than a *Scarlet Cloak*. Well, but they oppose the Ministry in the Publick Assemblies. I answer, All Opposition doth no more overthrow Order, than it doth Truth. That which we call Order now, the *Apostle* did not heretofore. And if the Publick Assemblies will be *Churches of Christ*, and condemn them for breach of the Command, of *doing all things according to Order*, they must know, that it is they, and not the *Quakers*, that violate the *Apostles Order*, I Cor. 1. 30, 31. which is, That several may speak, and if ought be revealed to another, the Speaker must be silent; or else it is he that is Disorderly, and his Abettors. As for my part, since I am not sensible of the *Convictions* or *Emotions* of the Spirit under which another lies, so I dare not condemn the *Quaker*, whether he reprove openly, or walk naked through the Streets, denouncing Woes and Menaces: It is a sufficient Argument for me, that what God bids, is not undecent; nor do they any thing for which they have not a like Example, and (possibly) resembling Commands. However, Did not the Protestant Martyrs so disturb the Popish Priests, as the present Ministers are disturbed? And that when there were Laws against them? And did this Disobedience or Indecency hinder them from being catalogued as Martyrs? Read over the *Acts* and *Monuments*; consult

consult your Laws; If what they did were Justifiable, not the thing it self, but Circumstances are to be disputed.

What must we think of the Stools and Criquets devoutly thrown at the Minister's or Bishop's Head, as he did officiate in his Surplice in Scotland, the Picture of which Fact was sold for Religion in the beginning of our Wars?

Yea, many of the first Christians dealt so with the Heathens and their Priests: And if the *Ulliberian Council* did prohibit such, as suffered upon the account of having committed such Disturbances, from being reputed Martyrs; we may not only learn thence, what Esteem such Sufferers were in before, but even that since that Council they may be reputed *Saints*. But they will not take an Oath. I see not how this doth prejudice Magistracy and Government, if they will yet keep their Word. I know not how Christ's Commands do interfere with Civil Polity. It is true, some think the *Prohibition of Swearing* not to be a Precept, but an *Evangelical Council*: That the fulfilling thereof, argues an high and extraordinary *Perfection*; but the Violation of it is not sinful. Thus *Bernard* in his 65 Sermon upon the *Canticles*, and *Christianus Druthmarus*, who lived above seven hundred Years ago, if we credit *Trithemius*. You see what Esteem those Men would have for a *Quaker* upon this account, he who now should be exterminated Humane Society, as an Enemy to Government; had by them been celebrated for a Christian of more than ordinary Accomplishments. But I shall not detain my Reader any longer; when I shall see more objected

objected against them than is here, and in these Queries defended, I may say more: Though if *Balzac*, or *Rutgersius*, had written his *Character* of the ancient Christian, the *Quaker* would not now have stood in need of an *Apology*.

X. Whether the Papists say they sent them, or deny it? And whether Commissions and Delegations are to be interpreted according to the Intention of the Granter, or Fidelity of the Grantee? Whether in Rules of Common Policy, he who is a Justice, to keep the Peace under an Usurper, may, by virtue of such a Commission, draw a Sword against him? Is not it understood by Peace, that particular Governour's Peace? And is it not so in Matters of Truth?

I never heard of any Oath that was given, so as to be expounded in the sense of the Receiver, except the Covenant. *Vid. judic. Oxon. lat. p. 54. Aftcam of Oaths, p. 57.*

XI. Whether the very Principles of Protestancy, which makes the Scripture the Sole Rule of Faith, and leaves no Authoritative Publick Interpreter thereof, doth not invalidate all Extrinsicall Authority? And whether the first Reformers have not taught us to reject the Authority of Universities, Fathers, Councils, (a) and that for to adhere to Texts of Scripture, for the meaning whereof (if Adversaries may pass for Competent Judges) they had nothing but their own Fancies to alledge, or False Glosses?

(a) 'They

(a) They accuse *Luther*, not that he
 'dissents from the Scripture [*as neither do*
 '*our Sectarians, as they call them, in the Letter*]
 'but because he dissents from *Universities*,
 '*Holy Fathers*, and *Councils*.— But what is
 'more manifest, than that neither *Univer-*
 '*sities*, nor *Holy Fathers*, nor *Councils*, can
 'make Articles of Faith; because not only
 '*Universities*, but *Holy Fathers* and *Councils*
 'may err?— *Melancthon. Apol. pro Luthe:*
inter op. Lutheri edit. Witeberg, T. 2. f. 193.
 c. 1, 2. Reader, Thou art to know, that
 the Controverſie betwixt us and the *Papists*
 (except some Fools, and such as their own
 ſide now explode) is not, Whether an *Uni-*
versity, the *Holy Fathers*, or a *General Council*,
 can make new Articles of Faith; but whe-
 ther upon any emergent *Faith-Controverſie*,
 what they declare to be the *Mind of God*,
 is to be received as ſuch, and acquieſced
 therein, by *Chriſtians*, ſo as not to diſpute it
 thence-forward any more, upon *their Au-*
thority, buttressed up with ſome *Texts of*
Scripture, which make no more for the *Coun-*
cil of Trent, than the *Synod at Westminster*;
 nor any more for the latter, than for an
Assembly of Anabaptists: If they would but
 have the confident *Presumption* to apply
 them. It is then evident, that what *Man*,
 or *Party of Men* whoſoever, ſhall take upon
 him or them to *Declare* unto others *Auibo-*
ritatively, ſo as to oblige (or tell them that
 they are obliged) to believe it hence-for-
 ward (we being, by our *First-Proteſtant-*
Arguments,

Arguments, absolved from all precedent *De-*
clarations) as a *Matter of Faith*, and the dis-
 believing whereof is *Damnable Heresie*, it is
 an assuming of that *Power*, which (if to
 have it there needs no more than to pretend
 to it) the *Papists* had at first, and at this day
 claim. But for the *Esteem* that is to be payed
 to *Universities*, and *University-men*, when
 they err (or are apprehended so to do) you
 may learn further from *Melancthon* in the
 same place, Fol. 195. c. 1, 2. 'As for *Uni-*
 ' *versities*, we need not trouble our selves
 ' at them, the very *School-Divinity* which
 ' they uphold, shews that all such *Schools*
 ' are *Heretical*. Let our *Masters* [this is used
 by way of contumely; as the *Jews* called their
Doctors Rabbi, so in the *Universities* they used
 to say, *Magister noster*, Our Master; and in
 Scotland all their *Ministers*, and they only, that
 I know, are called *Mr. John*, &c. that is,
Master] let them cry out he hath spoken
 Blasphemy, he accuseth the *Schools* of He-
 resie. 'Very well, if they teach those
 ' things which are dissonant from the Go-
 ' spel, as the *School-Divinity* of *Paris*, [may
 ' not one upon the like *Convictions* speak as irre-
 ' verently of *Oxon* or *Cambridge*?] is repug-
 ' nant thereunto, which alone is received
 ' and prevails almost in *Europe*, and at the
 ' *Sorbonne*. Wherefore, Reader, thou needest
 ' not wonder if *Luther* be against *Universities*,
 ' they being the *Dwellings* of Lies, as *Micah*
 ' urged it. But, you will say, Who can
 ' think so many Men can err? All Men err,
 ' who

*Omnes Scho-
 las esse He-
 reticas, vel
 Theologia
 Scholastica
 coarguit.*

*Academia
 domus men-
 dacii sunt.*

' who teach things contrary to the Gospel,
 ' all that allow of that *wicked School-Divinity*.
 ' How! So many? Yes. For in the midst
 ' of *Samaria*, amongst such numbers of
 ' *Baal's Priests*, How few *Elijah's* were there?
 ' Call to mind the whole History of *Judab*
 ' and *Samaria*, which were a Type of the
 ' Church of *Christ*, How few *Prophets* will
 ' you find, and how many *Idolaters*? And in
 ' the declining of that Kingdom, how
 ' many *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, that is, *Priests*,
 ' and *Monks*, and *School-Men*? Do not you
 ' know what the Prophet *Ezekiel* saith, *As*
 ' *is the Mother, so is the Daughter*? We have
 ' imitated, yea, we have out-done the Mon-
 ' strosities of that Synagogue, we have
 ' justified her, as I may phrase it, with the
 ' Prophet.

XII. *Whether to make up a Divine of the best*
Rank (for the generality of them are not so quali-
fied) more be necessary than Skill in Tongues,
Knowledge of Antiquity, and School-Divi-
nity? Whether any of the first Centuries after
the Apostles did understand Hebrew? How
many of the Latin Fathers before Jerom did un-
derstand Greek? In particular, Whether Au-
stin did much understand either? Whether there
can be any Knowledge of Antiquity? (a) And
whether School-Divinity be not a Novel Thing,
slighted and condemned by Learned and Godly
Men in all Ages, since it was first intro-
duced? (b)

(a) *Eusebius,*

(a) *Eusebius*, in his Preface to his Ecclesiastical History, doth acknowledge, that as to the Records of precedent Times, he had little certain help, besides the *Acts of the Apostles*: But this Question is handled at large in a Learned Treatise of Mr. *Daille's*, about the Use of the Fathers.

(b) Amongst the Articles condemned by the Sorbonists as *Luther's*, there are these following, with the ensuing *Censures*.

1. *Scholastical Divinity* [in which it is that our *Doctors* Commence, for the *Apostolical Doctors* or *Teachers* were no *Graduates*, nor was there any *School-Divinity* then] is a misunderstanding of the Holy Scripture and Sacraments, and hath veiled from us the sincere and true *Divinity*.

This Proposition is False, Rashly and Proudly asserted, and repugnant to sound *Doctrine*.

2. When the School or Mock-Divinity began, then was the Divinity of the Cross of Christ rendred of no Effect, and all things became perverted.

This is a False, Presumptuous, and Irrational Assertion, and resembles the Error of the *Bobemians*, (those are the Predecessors of the Protestants in *Bobemia*, of which number was *John Huss*, and *Jerom of Prague*, generally acknowledged for Martyrs) which hath been condemned.

3. It is now almost Three hundred Years, since the School-Divines have corrupted the Scriptures, to the incomparable Detriment of the Church.

Mark the Antiquity of School-Divinity: This was censured in 1581.

This

This is a false, foolish and malicious, Assertion. *Vide opera Lutheri. t. 2. fol. 191. c. 2. Edit. Witteberg.*

In opposition to this Censure of the *Parisian Divines*, did *Melancthon* write; and amongst a multitude of Reflections upon *School-Divinity*: 'When I think more upon the business, it is my judgment that *Paris* doth not now begin to transgress; then were they besotted, when the *Word of God* was first defiled with *Humane Disputes*, and mixed with *Philosophy*. For it is certain that that profane *School-Learning*, which they call *Theology* or *Divinity*, had its Birth and Original at *Paris*; and if it be once admitted of, there is nothing safe, nothing found in the Church of God: The Gospel is obscured, Faith extinguished, Free-Will and Good Works introduced, and instead of professing Christianity, we become not followers of the *Law*, but Adherents of *Aristotle*; and the *Christian Precepts*, contrary to the intent of the Spirit of God, turns to a Philosophical way of living; you would with Spiritual Eyes discern, what Mischief that *School-Divinity* of yours, bred up and continued amongst you, and from thence propagated into all the other *Schools* and *Universities* of *Europe*, what hurt it hath done to the Church. This may suffice to shew the judgment of those Glorious Reformers: It were endless to repeat all their Testimonies that have given out the like witness: Believe it, Reader, if

*Vid. opera
Lutheri t. 2.
fol. 192. c. 2.
edit. Witte-
berg.*

*vid. opera
Lutheri t. 2.
fol. 192. c. 2.
edit. Witte-
berg.*

if thou art of this judgment, thou hast the most glorious Martyrs, the most renowned Christians, and as learned Men as any, to defend thee; I forbear to Catalogue them, or recite their Testimonies, because I think none will deny it: Nor must thy Adversaries excuse themselves, that it is only the impertinent part thereof that is condemned by these Men, but all those subtleties which perplex the Minds of sober Christians: It was not the Ignorance of such Curiosities (which are condemned by the *Papists*) but of such *School-Divinity* as makes up the Controversies betwixt the *Romanists* and *Reformed Religion*, that was objected by *Rosweyde* the Jesuite, to the learned *Isaac Casaubon*; for whom his Son Dr. *Merick Casaubon* (now living in *England*, and Famous for his Learning) makes this reply, after his Defence of his Father against other Criminations. 'There remains now to be
 ' spoken of the *Dialectical* or *Scholastick Divinity*: This, of what nature soever it be,
 ' if it be not comprehended in the *Word of God*, and if all the Ancients were ignorant
 ' of it, let my Father have been ignorant
 ' thereof, and let you his Adversaries pass
 ' therein; subtleties and vain janglings of
 ' words [*λεπτολογίας* and *καυοφωνίας*] which
 ' through too much Curiosity, for the most
 ' part degenerate into Profaneness and Im-
 ' piety, or Folly and Ridiculousness; in
 ' fine, all contests about words [*λογωμαχίας*]
 ' which were begot thorough Idleness, and

Vid. *Hospitalium* de orig
 temp. l. 1. 3.
 s. 5.

‘ Ignorance of better Learning (which was
 ‘ the infelicity of those days, in which they
 ‘ first arose) he did not more vehemently
 ‘ decline, than he did pursue more profitable
 ‘ and beneficial Studies. *Meric. Casaubon,*
pietas contra maledicos patris nominis & religio-
nis hostes, p. 122.

XIII. *Whether the Knowledge of Tongues*
lead us to one Sense of Scripture, or ma-
ny? Whether all such dealings lead us not to
put our Trust in Man? Can any matter of
Faith be built upon the strength of a Criti-
cism?

XIV. *Whether the first Christians used much*
and long Preaching amongst themselves? Or did
build their Doctrine upon Criticisms?

Any one, who is but indifferently versed
 in the New Testament, will see the diffe-
 rence betwixt the Preaching now in Vogue,
 and what the Apostles practised, when the
 Ministry was not a Trade, but a Christian
 Duty. A little discerning will inform one
 how the Conversion of Men is become
 Church-work: But further, in the Church
 at *Corinth*, Two or Three might speak, and if
 1 Cor. 14.
 29, 30, 31. ought were revealed to another, the Person speak-
 ing was to hold his Peace: (Yea, they might
 all prophesie one after another) But what was
 Order then, is Disorder now; and if any
 one offer to speak in an Assembly, he that
 is speaking doth so far decline Silence, that
 he

he complains, and impleads the other (tho' possibly filled with a more Seasonable, if not better *Word of Prophecy*; and which ought to be, as *Apples of Gold in Tables of Silver*) for Interruption. Then they came together, and every one *had a Psalm* [not of *David's* penning, but his own] a *Doctrine, a Tongue, a Revelation, an Interpretation*. Now there is no such thing, nor would it be suffered, though the Apostle with regard thereunto particularly says, *Let all [these] things be unto Edifying*: This was no Confusion in a Church planted immediately by the Apostles, and supplied with Men, filled with the Holy Ghost, thorough their Imposition of Hands; yet it is not tolerated in *Parish-Churches*, of a *Popish* Establishment, and possessed by Men whom the Imposition of the Hands of the *Presbytery* fills with another Spirit. It is in reference hereunto, that the Apostle, bidding all *Covet to prophesie* (not *prophesie out of Covetousness*) saith, *If any Man think himself to be a Prophet, or Spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the Commandments of God*. Whose Commandments are they then that repugnant to this Usage? And what a Trial doth the Apostle suggest whereby to judge of *Sandalous*, or *Spiritual Christians* and *Prophets*. And here I shall take notice of the *Jewish Synagogues*; teaching there was no Levitical *A&T*, nor yet to be performed by *Licensing and Ordination*. Christ came into the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, being neither *Levite*, nor

ibid. v. 26.

ibid. v. 37.

Luke 4. 16.

ordained, on the Sabbath Day, and stood up to Read: They did not Clamour, but gave him the Book, and he Read, and Expounded; and they, instead of what would have happened in our Parish-Churches, Bare him witness, and wondered at the gracious Words which proceeded out of his Mouth; and they said, Is not this Joseph's Son? He was not Rabbi Jesus Ben Joseph. They wonder how he Preaches, they ask not why he Preaches: Yea, in the Synagogue at Antioch, when Paul and Barnabas came into the Synagogue on the Sabbath Day, and sat down, after the Reading of the Law and the Prophets, the Rulers of the Synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye Men and Brethren, if ye have any word of Exhortation for the People, say on. Either Paul and Barnabas were before known to the Jews, or not; if not, we see their Custom (for it is not observed to have been Extraordinary) to admit, yea, invite Strangers of untryed Doctrine, to Preach publicly, in the Synagogue, on the Sabbath Day, to the People. If they were known to them before, they could be known to them, being Jews, (and such as contradicted and blasphemed afterwards, v. 45.) no otherwise than Quakers are to the vulgar Orthodox; and so the example is more pregnant, viz. The Rulers of the Synagogue knowing that Paul and Barnabas did Teach a way which did subvert their present Religion and Jerusalem-Worship and Polity, yet being Men of Humility, Meekness,

Act. 13. 14,
15.

ness, and unblameable Life, they sent unto them, in the Synagogue, on the Sabbath Day, to Exhort the People.

As for Christ Teaching and Disputing in the Temple amongst the Doctors, he being but *Twelve Years Old*, it is a thing of greater influence upon our Divines; his Disputing, and his Sitting there, was an act no way allowed, but upon the consideration of Extraordinary Gifts. The Jewish way of making *Rabbi's* was, the Disciples did first sit at the Feet of their Master. After he had been a Disciple for a sufficient time, then was he created *Rabbi*, by *Imposition of Hands*, and formally declared *Rabbi* or *Master*, yet yet was not he thereupon called *Rabbi* or *Master*: But the Friend or Familiar Acquaintance of *Rabbi* E. Nor did he sit in the presence of his *Master*, but stood: So that for *Christ*, who was neither according to his Age, or usual Discipline, a *Rabbi*, for him to be admitted to Sit and Dispute amongst the *Doctors*, it shews a greater regard for gifted Men, than is now afforded. Here we may observe (probably) the right use of *Imposition of Hands*, not to make *Clergymen*, but *Rabbi's* (but we know who said, *Be not you called Rabbi's, or Doctors*). Think you that only the *Hebrew* particular appellation is prohibited? No, the following words disprove that. The *Rabbi's* were not *Levites*, nor had *Tithes*, and if our *Ministers* be their substitutes, neither ought they.

Luke 2. 46.

Χειροθε-
σια

Vid. Jo. Scaliger. Elench. tribares. c. 10.

Matth. 23. 8.

XV. *Whether Scriptures be the indubitable Word of God, and whether that can be said by any Reformed Divines, since they have condemned all Addition, even such as is Explicative? * If they be the undoubted Word of God, why are they not bound up with the Bible? Are there not four Gospels? Are there not the same things reiterated in the Epistles? Is there not Deuteronomy, as well as Exodus and Leviticus? And Chronicles as well as Kings?*

* Vide Colloqu. Ratisbonense.

XVI. *Whether they, who were Teachers of the People of God in the Primitive Times, were not Handy-crafts-men of several Trades? (a)*

(a) So Paul was a Tent-maker, and followed that Occupation in the time of his Apostleship; and Celsus objected it to Origen (Origen, lib. 30. adv. Celsum) that the Christian Teachers, such as propagated the Gospel, were ἑρμηνεῖς, καὶ σωτοὶ, καὶ κνῆρες, καὶ ἀνάλκυστοι, καὶ ἀποχρηταί, Weavers, (or Combers of Wool) Coblers, Fullers, and Illiterate, and exceeding Rustick.

Wernerus saith, in like manner of the Waldenses, That before their time, the [Anti-christian] Church and Catholick Faith had been molested by Princes, subtle Philosophers, acute Hereticks, and other Persons of Note: But in those days it was not a little disquieted by most vile Ideots, and poor Lay-men. Unto which Bishop Usher, by way of Apology, replies, 'That God (as the Apostle said, 1 Cor. 1. 27.) had chosen the foolish Things

De Christ.
eccles. suc-
cess. c. 8. Sect.
8.

' Things of the World, that he might confound
 ' the Wise; and the Weak, whereby to invalidate
 ' the Strong: That, what Jacobus de Vitriaco D
 ' had written about one Fulco a Presbyter
 ' of great Simplicity and Ignorance; might
 ' be accomodated to Peter Waldo, and his
 ' Followers. As God did choose Fishermen and
 ' Ideots (or plain Country People) that so Isa. 48. 11.
Lament 4. 1.
 ' he might not give his Glory to another; so, for
 ' as much as the little ones had asked Bread; and
 ' the learned being busied about vain Disputations,
 ' and word-Contentions, did neglect to break it
 ' unto them, the Lord did in his Mercy, choose
 ' him, as a Star in a Cloud, as Rain in a dry
 ' Season, as another Sangar, who with the
 ' Plough-share of his rude Preaching should slay Judg. 3. 31
 ' many. Yea, it was objected unto the
 ' aforesaid Christians of the Waldensians and
 ' Bobemians; Doctores ipsorum sunt Textores &
 ' Sutores. Their Teachers are Weavers and D
 ' Coblers. Whereto they replied, We are
 ' not ashamed of our Priests, because they la-
 ' bour with their Hands, procuring thereby a
 ' livelihood to themselves, according as they are
 ' able, because both the Doctrine and Exam-
 ' ple of the Apostles doth lead us to such Appre- Usher de
succes. c. 6.
§. 28.
 ' hensions.

XVII. Whether there were not as much cause
 for learned Disputes in those times, as now? Are
 there any New Opinions in our days, such as are
 maintained with more Rhetorick, or Subtlety,
 than those of Old? Surely no.

XVIII. *Whether the first Christians were not against Humane Learning and Heathenish Authors? (*) And whether it was only an effect of Julian the Apostate's Malice, or Christian Prudence, that went about to keep the People of God from reading Heathen Writers? (✠)*

(*) *Herald. Animadv. in Arnob.* 'The
 ' Christians [in the Primitive Times] living
 L. 3. p. 137. ' excluded from all Honours and Magi-
 ' stracies, did neglect those Studies, which
 ' are mainly necessary for the laudable dis-
 ' charge of Civil Trusts and Employments?
 ' Moreover, Because the *Sophisters* and *Phi-*
 ' *losophers* were the principal Enemies of
 ' Christianity; therefore even upon this ac-
 ' count were they disgusted at all *Philosophy*.
 ' They were no less severe in their Cen-
 ' sures of all manner of *Florid* and *Polite*
 ' *Learning*: They condemned *Tragedies* and
 ' *Comedies*, and other *Poetical Writings*, being
 ' the main part of *Humane Learning*, as think-
 ' ing they did not conduce to *solid Know-*
 ' *ledge*, and being full of *Wantonness* and
 ' *Obscenity*, as also *Promptuaries* of *Fabulous*
 Lib. de Idolatry. ' *Idolatries*. Hence it was, that *Tertullian*
 ' thinks *School-Masters*, and other Professors
 ' of Learning, to be guilty of a manifold
 ' *Idolatry*, whose business it was, to explain
 ' the *Names*, *Genealogies*, *Fabulous Acts* and
 P. 138. ' *Elogies* of the Heathen Gods. Generally
 ' the Believers in those days harboured a
 ' very bad Esteem for *Secular Learning*.
 P. 139. ' Whence it is clear, that *Secular Learning*
 ' was endangered in those Times of the
 ' Ancient

' Ancient Christians, who were so much the
 ' more provoked thereunto, because the
 ' better Sort of the *Gentiles* did continually
 ' upbraid them, that they were a sort of
 ' *Idiots*, and *Illiterate Persons*: That their
 ' *Teachers* were *Rude* and *Ignorant*, *Combers*
 ' of *Wooll*, *Coblers*, *Fullers*. These things be-
 ' ing continually objected unto them, there-
 ' fore the Christians did on the other side
 ' reply, That the *Learning*, wherein their
 ' *Adversaries* did so pride themselves, was
 ' an useless thing, and no way advantagious
 ' to Salvation; nay, that it did estrange the
 ' wise Men of this World from the Ways
 ' of God, and was a great occasion of their
 ' Ruin. This Altercation made the Chri-
 ' stians to be contemned and vilified as
 ' weak and ignorant Men. Hence it was
 ' that *Celsus* upbraided them, that they re-
 ' jected all the wiser sort, and embraced
 ' only the Communion of *Fools* and *Slaves*.
 ' The Christians did declare, That Men of
 ' any Condition might be Saved, *Servants*, *Origen*, l. 3.
 ' *Idiots*, and *Rusticks*, such as the World
 ' valued as *Fools*; that God did confound
 ' the *Wise* in their own *Wisdom*; that the
 ' *Wisdom* of the World was *Folly* before the
 ' Almighty; that he revealed his *Mysteries*
 ' to *Babes*, and hid them from the *Wise*:
 ' These and the like Passages the Proud
 ' Worldlings could not endure. Therefore
 ' *Celsus* (as *Origen* in the same Book tells us)
 ' said, That the Christians did proclaim it
 ' in their Assemblies; *Let none that is Wise*

enter; none that is Learned; none that is Prudent; for thus it is appointed us in the Gospel. But if there be any Unlearned, any Unwise, any Foolish, let him approach with Confidence. For whilst they [the Christians] acknowledged these to be fit Servants for their God, it is evident that they only desire, and can only effect the Conversion of Stupid and Senseless, of Slaves, Women, and little Children.

P. 25.

Ouzelius, in his Animadversions upon Minut. Felix, saith, 'That as the Gentiles did object unto the Christians their Rude Style, Harsh Language, and destitute of all Address, calling them Rusticks and Clowns; so the Christians did again, by way of Irony and Mockage, term them the Polite, the Eloquent, and the Learned. This he proveth by ample Testimonies out of Lactantius, Arnobius, Isidorus, Pelusiotas, Theodoret, and others.

(*) Of this, Libanius is a pregnant Witness in his Life, Tom. 2. p. 51. Amongst other his Misfortunes, he laments the great Contempt and Scorn that was cast upon the Greek Tongue after the Death of Julian, *Καὶ μὴν ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἐν ἀδυναμίᾳ τῇ καὶ ἀτιμῇ καὶ περιφρονησίᾳ ἥτις λόγων, λόγους διδάσκειν καὶ ἀνέμεινον.* It is a part of my Infelicity, to sit and professedly teach good Literature and Rhetorick, in a time when it is so neglected and disgraced. So, afterward he says he was afraid, lest the Greek Tongue should be Suppressed by some Law. *Καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἡμετέραν λόγων γυναικῶν ἢ πρῶτον ἢ ἑτέρον, ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ πόλεον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γαρι-*

Dai

ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὴ τῆς αἰσεως. Ibid.

p. 71. I shall not dispute whether the Constitutions of *Clemens Romanus* be his, or no; they are ancient, and in them it is enjoyned,

Abstain from all the Books of the Gentiles, for Lib. 1. c. 6.

what have you to do with strange Discourses, or Laws, or False Prophets, which seduce weak

Men from the Truth? In the Council of

Carthage is there not a Canon, *Let not a Bi-* Distin. cap. 37.

shop read Heathen Authors? And are not these, Episcopus citante Jac. Laurentio, de libr. gentil. p. 40. A.

and the like Passages in *Gratian*? We see that

the Priests of the Lord, neglecting the Gospels and

the Prophets, read Comedies, and sing Love-

Verses out of the *Bucolicks*; they peruse *Virgil*,

and what is a Sin of enforced necessity in Chil-

dren, is become their Delight. Doth not he seem

to walk in *Vanity* and *Darkness of Mind*, who

vexeth himself day and night in the Study of *Lo-*

gick; who in the pursuit of *Physicall Speculations*,

one while elevates himself beyond the highest *Hea-*

vens, and afterwards precipitates himself below

the nethermost parts of the *Earth*, and droweth

into the *Abyss*; who frameth *Iambicks*, and

chargeth his *Memory* with the distinct Knowledge

of an *Infinity* of several sorts of *Verses*? If you

say there is not now any danger of *Infe-*

ction from the reading of *Heathenish Books*;

you give but the same reason for them,

which *Bellarmino* does *de Laicis*, c. 20. Art. 19.

and which is refuted as a *Childish* and *Illi-*

terate Answer by *Jacobus Laurentius*, since

the *Errors* of the *Heathen* are not more

manifest now, than of old; nor Men more

fixed and constant. I could very far enlarge

here,

here, and present you with the Romanists Apologies for expurging Books; but the Judgment and Practice of the Ancients may be learned very fully from the ensuing Testimonies of Men, as *Inquisite* and as *Knowing* as any latter Ages have produced.

Machiavel, in his Disputations, l. 2. c. 5. saith, 'The first Promoters and Founders of Christianity, were so assiduous and diligent in Extirpating the Superstitions of the Gentiles, that they commanded all Poets, and Historians, which contained any thing of that Nature, to be burned; they threw down their Idols, and destroyed every thing that had any smack of those Superstitions. *Cardan* more particularly informs us, how Pope Gregory did burn many Latin Authors, because they were Lascivious, as *Cæcilianus*, *Affranus*, *Nævius*, *Licinius*, *Ennius*, *Attilius*, *Victor*, *Livi's* Dialogues; nor did they spare *Plautus*, *Martial*, and *Terence*, though through the multitudes of Copies their Pious Intentments were frustrated: Nor had *Tacitus*, for his contumelious Language against the Christians, escaped their Zeal, who is yet imperfect, but for the same reason. In like manner did *Gregory Nazianzen* suppress the Greek Authors, *Menander*, *Diphilus*, *Apollo-dorus*, *Philemon*, *Alexis*, *Sappho*. The great Traveller, and most Inquisitive, *Petrus Bellonius*, saith, That when he came to Mount *Athos*, where there lived, in several Monasteries 6000 *Caloieri*, or Religious Persons, which are the greatest of any the Greek Church

De sapient,
lib. 2.

Observ. l. 1.
c. 35.

Church hath, he did not find there (no nor in all Greece) one Man that was Learned: *Ibid. c. 40.*
 It is true, there were some who understood Greek and Latin, but scarce Two or Three which could Write and Read. In their Libraries they had several Manuscripts of Divinity, but no Poets, Historians, or Philosophers. *Cap. 39.*
 'For the Patriarchs, and other Rulers of the Greek Church, being enemies to Philosophy, did anathematize all such Priests and Religious Persons, as should read or transcribe any Book, but which were Theological: And did perswade all others that it was not lawful for a Christian to study Poesie or Philosophy: And such Ecclesiastical Persons as had, by their Transgressing, incurred Excommunication, could not be Absolved, till they had undergone sundry strict Fastings, and other Corporal Chastisements, and paid a Sum of Money by way of Penance. Yet art thou to understand, Reader, that the Greek Church is owned for a true Christian Church, and highly magnified by Protestants, in opposition to the Pope; yet neither they, nor the Picards, or Waldenses, in Bohemia, did value Learning, so far were they from esteeming of it as the Prop of true Religion. *Luther. de instit. puer. inder oper. Wittenberg. T. 2. f. 444. cap. 1.*

XIX. Whose Sepulchres do our University Men build up, whilst they uphold Aristotle's Philosophy, which hath been so generally condemned of late, and heretofore, by Popish Assemblies, and particular Men of that way; as also
 by

by the first Christians, and Honest Men of All Ages?

The Apostle doth expressly tell us, That we ought to beware of Philosophy, Take heed lest any one seduce you by Philosophy, Col. 2. He had been at Athens, he had acquainted himself with that Vain-glorious Humane Wisdom, which doth so interpolate the Truth, he had been conversant therewith, and knew the multiplicity of Contradictious Sects which it had produced. What then hath Athens to do with Jerusalem? What Fellowship hath the Academy with the Church of Christ? What Agreement betwixt their Followers and the Disciples of our Lord Jesus? Our Doctrine issues [not from the Stoicks, but] the Porch of Solomon; who himself hath taught us, that God is to be sought in simplicity of Heart. Let them look to it, who have introduced a Stoical, a Platonical, a Logical Christianity. We need not be curious since the Coming of Jesus Christ, nor Inquisitive after the Light of the Gospel. Seeing we once believe, we have no further Intentments than to believe. For this is the first thing we do believe, that there is not any thing further that we should believe. Tertullian. de præscript. adv. Hæret. c. 7, 8. So Jerom, l. 1. contr. Pelag. What hath Aristotle to do with Paul? or Plato with Peter? A multitude of Testimonies to this effect, might be produced out of Antiquity, to shew how bitter Censurers they were of Philosophy;

Philosophy; how they triumphed in their *Faith*, and never so much employed their *Reason* as to Captivate it: Whatever it be now-a-days, to urge *Philosophy* amongst them, was either to be an *Heretick*, or a *Gentile*. But I refer my Reader to *Lanmoys*'s Discourse, about the several Conditions which *Aristotle* hath run thorough; there he will find him not only condemned by the Fathers, but burned by After-ages, and Papal Decrees. If any shall say, That the Apostle, by prohibiting *Philosophy*, and vain Deceit, doth rather establish, than prejudice what is true; I shall not only desire that Person to ascertain me of what is true in *Philosophy*; but further demand, whether this dealing, in making that *Distinctive* which is *Exaggerative*, be not like to what *Gregory de Valentia* alledgeth in the behalf of that Worship which is paid to the *Host* in the *Mass*, that the Apostle, 1 Pet. 4. 3. in condemning of abominable *Idolatries*, ἀδύνατοι εἰδωλολατρίας, doth not prejudice *Idolatries*, which are not Abominable?

XX. Whether the first Christians had any Churches or did Assemble only in private Houses? (a) Whether their want hereof can be attributed to their being under Persecution, since they never made that excuse for themselves to the Pagans, who objected it to them? Whether, if it had not been their Judgment, and not a necessitous Practice, the Heathens would have

have upbraided them with such their defect; or upon that account have termed them Atheists.

(a) We read of a Church to be saluted in such and such a private House, Rom. 16. 5. 1 Cor. 16. 19. Col. 4. 15. Philem. 2. And it is evident by Celsus, objecting the want of them to the Christians in Origen; and Cecilius in Minutius Felix, that they had no Temples; by which they did not mean Heathen Temples, for the offering of Sacrifice, or the like Corporeal Ceremonies and Rites; but Churches, such as are now in use; for the same Objection is thus worded by Arnobius, in the beginning of his Sixth Book, 'For you use to charge us with Impiety and Irreligiousness, because we build no Sacred Houses or Temples for the performing of our Devotions and Worship therein. And this is avowed in the Controversie betwixt the Lincoln-shire Puritan-Divines, and the Canterburians, about the Altar, Name and Thing.

Vid. Ouzel.
in Minut.
Fel. & Hof-
pinian. de.
orig. templ.

XXI. Whether Christianity it self be not termed Heresie in Scripture? (*) Whether Tertullian do not frequently call the Christians a Sect? (†) And whether the Christian Emperors do not so likewise in their Constitutions, even against Hereticks? (*) Whether the Meeting-Places of the first Christians were not termed Conventicles?

(*) AB. 28. 22. & AB. 24. 5, 14.
(†) Tertullian de pal. c. 6. in Apolog. c. 1. l. c. 46. & alibi.
(*) Cod. Theodof. lib. 16. tit. 5. de hereticis leg. 42. & leg. 37. & leg. 66. & alibi.

(a) Arnold.

(a) *Arnob. l. 4.* 'How have our Writings
 ' deserved to be burned, and our *Conventicles* Conventi-
 cula.
 ' to be barbarously destroyed, in which
 ' we call upon the most high God?
Lactantius, lib. 5. c. 11. 'Some were fierce Cum ipso
 paritur Con-
 venticulo.
 ' to destroy them, as one in *Pbrygia*, who
 ' burned all the People assembled together,
 ' with their *Conventicle*. *Orosius l. 7. c. 12.* Honestacon-
 venticula.
 ' *Trajan* the Emperor being informed by
 ' *Pliny*, that the Christians did nothing con-
 ' trary to the Roman Laws, but professed
 ' Christ, and frequented honest Conven-
 ' ticles.

XXII. *Whether, if there were Heresies in
 the Apostles days, and Schisms, it doth follow
 that there are any Hereticks and Schismaticks
 now, when there are no Apostles? It was un-
 questionably a culpable Election to embrace a
 Tenet different from what they taught, and a
 Schismatical and Criminal Departure to with-
 draw from their Churches or Assemblies, when
 they could refute the bold Gain-sayer a visum
 est Spiritui sancto & nobis, It seemeth meet
 unto the Holy Ghost, and to us: They being
 alive, the Heretick might as well inform himself
 of the meaning of their words, as their Miracles
 did convince the Truth of them: But is the case
 so now? Do the Miracles performed by the Apo-
 stles speak more in favour of one than another
 Opinionist? May not each one vouch them, who
 adheres to the Text? Is it sufficient Proof that a
 thing is so, because a Minister hath said it,
 whereas there is nothing which they may not
 say?*

L

Acts 15. 12.

say? And is it not as good Proof against a thing, Some Minister or Ministers, advantaged with as good Topical Recommendations as his or their Adversary, hath denied it? (a)

(a) What Credit is to be given to the Decisions of Men, you may learn from the first Protestants, who being condemned by the Papists, as vilely as they censure others, did notwithstanding bear up in that Satisfaction (which our Hereticks have) that their own Consciences did not condemn them.

From them who undertook to define as Apostles, they demanded the like Signs, before they would submit to the exercise of the like Jurisdiction. But what Signs do you think *Luther* found at the *Sorbonne*? How resembling are they to what are at the Two Universities? Thus *Luther* makes them to plead in defence of that Condemnation they had passed upon him: 'When the Faculty Theological condemned that Heretick, we had two sorts of Signs; some answering to the common Signs of *Barnabas* and *Paul* amongst the Gentiles; and some corresponding with the peculiar Signs of *Peter*: Because Manners teach us to begin with the most worthy, we shall speak of such Signs as answer to those of *Peter*. And let it be thus: The Dean of our worthy Faculty, he is *St. Peter* in the worthy Faculty; and he hath Three Signs, which force him to judge, so that he cannot err: His Register Book, his Zeal, and his Formalities. From whence it is clear, that

*Registrum,
sigillum, &
Almution.*

‘ that the Heretick [*Melancthon*] did proudly and arrogantly to write against the *Worthy Faculty*. The Common Signs are these: For Example, Our other *Masters*, especially the most excellent *John a Nokes* and *John a Styles*, are *Paul* and *Barnabas*, in the *worthy Faculty*. Now their First and Great Sign is *Doctoral-Hood* [*Liripidium*, seu *ut cruditi dicunt*, *Relipendium*] which is a most evident and known Sign, from whence we so conclude, That Man hath an *Hood*; therefore he is our *Master*, illuminated in the Faith; and therefore *he hath the Holy Ghost*. Another Sign is, they sit in an *high Seat* or *Chair*, when they do read or dispute: And from this Sign we thus argue: *Christ* says, *They sit in Moses’s Chair*, whatever they say, that observe ye; therefore whatever they say is true. But these our *Masters sit in the Chair*, and teach thus, therefore they cannot err.

There is another Sign which is very comprehensive; and it is the *Ring*, *Gloves*, *Kiss*, &c. which they give and receive in the *Doctors-Hall*, together with the expensive *Doctrinal Banquet*. The last and greatest Sign is, the entry of *Mr. Dean* in the *Sorbonne*, when the *Bedels* go before him with their *Staves*; and cry aloud, Room for our reverend and excellent Master, the *Dean* of the *Faculty of Theology*, and our other excellent Masters, Room, Room: And this is a Sign well to be ruminated on, for it concludes *Formally*, that our *Masters cannot err*.

These are
Oxon Customs too.

For as in the like manner it is concluded, that the Pope cannot mistake, by this Argument *very formally*; because six lusty Fellows carry him at noon-day, with great solemnity from his Palace, thorough a good broad Street; how can he mistake, being so carried, the Day being clear, and the Street broad? So our Masters cannot mistake, because they go so solemnly at Mid-day, the Way being good, and Bedels going before them with their Staves. And these are sufficient Signs, gloriously proved for the Honour of the Faculty of Divinity. *Lud. Luther. in op. Luth. t. 2. fol. 199. c. 2. edit. Witteberg.*

XXIII. *Whether they used in the Primitive Times to Bury in places, such as we now call Church-yards? (a) And whether the introducing of such a Custom had not a Superstitious Original?*

(a) *Gaudentius de mor. sec. Justin.* proves that they did of old, Bury privately their Dead in their Grounds: 'Which Custom (he says) was taken away by Pope Innocent the Third, afterwards; he prohibited that any should cause themselves to be buried in new and un-consecrated [*minus Religiosa*] places, forsaking the Churches and Sepulchers of Fathers. The Pope draws his Argument from the Example of the Fathers, in the Old Testament, who are said to have been gathered unto their Fathers. But by the Custom of Justinian's Age, where

' where any Man was buried, that was a Con-
 ' secration or Hallowing of it; nor was the
 ' Example of the Patriarch obligatory: In
 ' the time of *Justinian*, and before, it was
 ' not Lawful to Bury the Dead in Churches: c. 27.
 ' For which end there is extant a Law of
 ' *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, l. 2. c.
 ' de sacros. Eccles. yea, the Fathers did take a
 ' special care, that no Dead Bodies should
 ' be buried in Churches; to which end
 ' there are several Canons made by Synods
 ' [*Triburiens.* *Nannetens.* *Vasen.* *Synodi decreta.* Vide Duran-
 ' Canon. quibus. Canon. nullus. canon. præcipient- dum de ri-
 ' dum] Even the Emperors were not buri- tib. Eccl.
 ' ed in Churches. — The being buried in Cathol. l. 1.
 ' the Church-Porch, and near it, was out of c. 23.
 ' a Superstitious Respect to the Saint, whose
 ' name that Church did bear: And when
 ' they began to desire to be buried within
 ' the Church, the reason was, because their
 ' Kindred and Relations did pray for them
 ' there: Besides, they did hope to be bene-
 ' fited by the Merits of the Martyrs and
 ' Apostles. We read in *Austin*, ' That the Be- De cura pro
 ' lieving Mother did desire, that the Body of mortuis. c. 5.
 ' her Believing Son might be buried in the
 ' Church of the Martyrs; for so much as she
 ' did believe that his Soul did reap benefit
 ' thorough the Merits of the said Martyrs. In Gaudent. c.
 ' the latter end of *Justinian's* Reign, or not 30.
 ' long after his Death, the Custom and Laws
 ' for not Burying People within Churches
 ' began to be disused; so that *Valerianus*,
 ' a Gentleman of *Brixia*, bought for a Sum of
 L 3 Money

‘ Money from the Bishop, to be buried with-
 ‘ in the Church ; which Prerogative the
 ‘ Clergy did, upon their first Retrenchment
 ‘ upon the Laws, appropriate to themselves.

✱ *How much there is of this Superstition in Eng-
 land now, and what excessive Rates are payed
 for breaking up the Ground in Churches, and the
 several parts thereof; as thou mayest easily en-
 quire, Reader, so thou mayest hence inform thy
 self of the cause.* Hospinian saith, That Men
 became at last so Superstitious in being bu-
 ried in, or near, the Church; that they
 thought it material, even to their Salvation.
 And gives another Reason why they, nor
 any should Bury the Dead in the Church :
 Because that Vapours arising from Buried
 Carcasses naturally, and also thorough the
 heat of a Multitude assembled, are preju-
 dicial to Women with Child, or any that
 are Sickly.

*De orig.
 templ. 3.
 c. 1.*

It was one of the Articles of the Wal-
 denfes.

The use of Church-Yards is Superfluous,
 and invented only for Lucre sake : It is no
 matter in what Ground any one is buried.

Bishop Usher *de success. Eccles. Christ. c. 6.*

XXIV. *Whether amongst the Papists, that
 have Churches, or solemn Meeting-places; the
 Jesuits do not usually, notwithstanding that,
 preach in the Market-places and Streets? (a)
 What it is that makes Teaching a publick Act?
 If to Teach publickly be to Teach accordingly as it
 is now practised, whether the Apostles did ever
 Teach publickly?* (a) This

(a) This Liberty was granted to them by Pope Paul the Third; the same is practised by the *Friers Minors* and *Dominicans*, and *Agustine Friers*; and grounded upon the practice of the Prophets in the Old Testament, *Jer. 17. Amos 5. Prov. 1.* and of Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament; besides that, *Mat. 22. & Luke 14.* in the Parable of the Marriage, Christ sends them out to the *High-ways* and *Streets* for Guests. All this is Illustrated at large by *Franciscus Bernardinus*, a *Popish Doctor*, in his Book, *de ritu concionandi lib. 2. c. 24.* and confirmed by this Reason, 'It is indeed an excellent Work to Preach the Gospel to such as sit idle in the Market, and would not otherwise go to Church, and to instruct and reform them.'

XXV. *Whether the Division into Parishes was not introduced by Pope Dionysius? (a) And whether the Ancient Christians paid Tithes? If they did, whether they did not pay them as Alms? (a)*

I mean not here such *Parishes* as ours are now, for there was no such thing till after *Justinian*; the Settlement was this only, In a Town there was one Bishop, with so many assisting *Presbyters*, who officiated in the voluntary Assemblies of *Christians*; the Offerings of all which Assemblies were distributed by the Bishop amongst the *Presbyters* in common. But thus in the same Street there might be a *Parish* of the *Orthodox*, at the *Arians* and *Novatians*, &c. It being a *Parish* of Persons, and not a possession of such Houses and Lands, with *Tithes* from all in general.

(a) Some say, That the Division of Parishes was the effect of one of the *Lateran Councils*; the eldest whereof was 1180. Others attribute it to Pope *Dionysius*, about

Camden, in his Division of Scotland.

the Year 256. For which *Robert of Tithes*, c. 8. p. 64. cites inter Decret. *Dyonis. & caus.* 13. qu. *Camden* saith, That *Dyonisius* did only distribute into *Diocesses* the Bishops.

(b) Were *Tithes* exacted for the Maintenance of the *Priests* in the Time of the Emperor *Justinian*? Certainly he will deny it, who remembers that there is not any mention made of them in *Code* (or Compilation of Laws, made in the days of him, and precedent Emperors, for the Regiment of all *Christians*) in which, for all that there are several Constitutions about *Bishops*, *Clergy-Men*, and *Churches*: If you have recourse to *Oecumenical Councils*, you will be at a loss there, and scarce find any thing for your satisfaction. Yet we must not think that the Bishops and Clergy were then destitute of Maintenance; for it is necessary they be maintained, yet may the payment of *Tithes* be omitted, if provision be made otherwise for them. But though we find nothing of *Tithes* in the *Code*, nor in the *Authenticks* of *Justinian*; yet I do not think that no *Tithes* were payed in those days; for long before that time, many Passages fell from *Austin*, (as it is in *Gratian* caus. 16. q. 1. c. *decimæ*) whence it appears, That the Christians did at first give *Tithes* upon no other account nor manner than they did *Alms*: For thus that holy Man speaks, 'As many poor Men as die for hunger, in the place where he lives, thorough his not giving the Tenth; of the Death of so many

many Persons will be found guilty before the
 Tribunal of the Eternal Judge. And a little
 before, he had said, *Wilt thou give that*
to the wicked Soldier, which thou wilt not
give to the Priest? Thus Tithes, being payed
 by the perswasion of the Bishop, were di-
 stributed for the Maintenance of the Priest
 and Poor, yet were not the Christians to be
 enforced by the Judge for the payment, or
 donation of such Tithes; and therefore
 Justinian hath not recorded any thing
 thereto, appertaining in his Laws. More-
 over, in the Council of Gangra, which was
 held in the Year 324. These two Canons
 are Registred: *If any one shall either receive* Canon 7.
or give Offerings out of the Church, without
the knowledge of the Bishop, or him whose
Office it was to receive them, and shall refuse
to consult with them, let him be Anathema.
And if any shall give or receive Offerings be-
sides the Bishop, or his Deputy, constituted to
that purpose, for to dispense Alms to the Poor,
let both the giver and the receiver be Anathema.
 Which Canons are expounded by Pope Sym-
 machus, concerning Tithes: Whence we may
 learn, That the Christians did in old times
 use to give something voluntarily out of
 their Incomes, which was divided by the
 Bishop, partly to the Clergy, and partly to
 the Poor. And those things which were
 at first arbitrarily payed, thorough inveterate
 Custom and Usage, became necessary and
 enforceable. Hence was the Original of all
 those Laws, concerning the manner of pay-
 ing

ing *Tithes*, and the means to compel the refusers thereof, of which the Canonists treat so much, and especially Pope Gregory, decretal. l. 3. c. 30. *Gaudent. de moribus seculi. Justinian Cap. 23.*

Mr. Selden, in his *History of Tithes*, saith, That 'before the Year 800, or thereabouts, there is not any general Law, that yet remains in publick, and is of credit, which 'ordained any payment of Tenth in the 'Western-Church: For, in the Eastern, never any Law, that I have observed, mentions them. p. 67. and in the Council of *Latteran*, of 1215. a Relation is of some Nations, who although Christians, did not by their own Rites and Customes pay *Tithes*. These are observed, by *Innocent the fourth*, to have been *Greeks, Armenians*, and the like. And *Antoninus* expressly remembers the general non-payment of them in the Eastern-Church, as a thing not to be censured to be against God's Law. Neither indeed have I met with any Canon Law of all that Church that ever commanded *Tithes*. Ibid. p. 190. And 'Neither can I but here remember that Custom of the Eastern-Church, thus maintained chiefly with Offering, or *ἱερόθυμα*, as they call them; which specially appears in the answer of *Theodore Balsamon*, Patriarch of *Antiochia*, to *Mark*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, touching the quantity of what was to be offered. He tells him that no certain quantity is appointed by the Canons, and that through inequality

Summa part.
3. tit. 4.

quality of Mens Estates (none of them giving any such part to the Church, as that it could discover their abilities) which permits not a regular certainty, they were contented with what Custom, and what the free Bounty of the Givers bestowed. Ἐπεὶ δὲ (saith he) ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνομαλία καὶ ἑσθια τῶν τέτων ἐκάλυψεν ὑποτύπωσιν (πολλοσημῶριον γὰρ τίς ἀνὴρ ἢ δίδωσι πρὸς τὸ ἐπίσκοπον) ἀρχαῖα τε συνήθεια καὶ πραγματεῖαι τῶν διδόντων, which is in substance the same before in English, p. 245. in opposition to what Mr. Selden, Doctor Tillesly says, and proves, that in the Greek-Church the First-fruits were Due, and might be exacted from the Laity in Money or Kind. The Ecclesiastical Canons of that Church, defined nothing particularly of the quantity of the Canonium, which was given by the People, but the Emperor, Isaacius Comnenus, set down a form thereof, what by Lay-men of the Diocesses should be given to the Bishop: In fine, Mr. Selden in his review of Dr. Tillesly's Animadversions, states the Controversie about the Eastern-Church, not as if they had never there payed Tithes; but, that they had no Laws to enforce them: So that they may have been said not to have pay'd, but given them: And so the proofs on both sides may be reconciled.

Concerning Tithes in the Greek-Church, la Mafre gives an account, Part 2. l. 1. c. 6. whereof this is the Sum: Of Tithes there is so little mention amongst the Greeks, that it is questionable

questionable whether their Lands were ever obnoxious to any. For amongst so many Monuments of Antiquity, so many Laws and Canons, there is not the least mention, or footstep thereof to be found. So that we may suppose, that if there were any memorial or use of them before Justinian, who digested and modelled their Laws, all was then abrogated. Some slender mention is found amongst some Greek Fathers, but as gratuitously given, not as constantly and by way of Due paid: For this he cites Origen, *hom. 11. in num. Isidor. Pelusiot. Ep. 37. l. 1.* the other Greek Fathers seldom mention them, or not at all; nor are they recounted amongst the Maintenance of the Clergy. Thus Epiphanius, *Tom. 2. l. 3. hæres. 80.* speaking wherewith the Priests ought to be sustained and clothed, mentions First-fruits and Offerings, but names not *Tithes*. Gregorius Nazienzen, *Ep. 80.* tells Acrius and Alypius, not that *Tithes* are Due to God, but the *First-fruits of the Wine-press and the Barn*. And under the Emperor Heraclius A. D. 614. Antiochus Abbot of St. Laura, in an Homily concerning *First-fruits*, commends the paying of *Tithes*, but challengeth that of *First-fruits*, only as due. My Author thinks they declined the mention of *Tithes*, or *Tenths*, because the Emperors Tribute was exacted therein, so that to have urged or named them, would have allarmed the People, as if they should be *Vassals* to their Priests, as well as Emperors. But instead of *Tithes*, their Clergy was maintained, partly
by

by casual Emergencies from *Benedictions*, *Marriages* and *Burials*, and partly by a fixed Salary, collected from each House or Chimney; and it was called *Capnicum*, or *Chimney-Money*: And it was the way of collecting hereof, that *Isaacijs Comnenus*, in his Bull doth give orders for; and this Money being payed only to the Bishops, was called *Canonicum*, or *Episcopale Tributum*. It was not instituted, but modelled by *Comnenus*, 1057. being *παλαιὸς τύπος*, an old *Sanction*. It was payed partly in Money, and partly in Kind: How the Curates and Parish-Priests were maintained, we read not: But my Author thinks they had a *Canonicum* too; for *Nicholaus* the Patriarch, when the People refused to pay a *Canonicum* to the Parish-Priests, the Law being silent as to them, and mentioning only Bishops, ordained that the old *Sanctions* be renewed; and as the Priests payed to the Bishop for their Ordination, so they should pay for their Instruction much more; and that either in Kind or Money. Thus they were maintained after *Justinian's* time; but before they were maintained, partly by *Pensions* cut of the *Exchequer*, as the other Officers of the Empire, partly by the Benevolence of the Parishioners and Casualties. And thus the Greek Clergy was maintained till 1200. Then the *Latines* under pretence of re-gaining the *Holy Land*, under *Baldwin*, took *Constantinople*, made him Emperor, setkd the *Remiss* Doctrine and Customs, and particularly that of
Tithes,

Tithes, though the Nobility opposed it, and prohibited their Vassals to pay them. Yet were they violently settled in a great part of *Greece*, until the *Turks* subdued that Empire. And now their *Clergy* is maintained, each Priest by a Salary from his Auditors Yearly, (every Church having so many Houses attributed to it) called *χρόνιον*: Besides what they get for Burials, &c. and some of them practise Handy-craft Trades, and some have Lands given them by Men at their Death. *Vid. Gariach. Epist. ad Cancellar. Acad. Tubing. Maii 17. 1576.*

It is further observable out of what hath been related, that of old, *Tithes* nor *Offerings* were not *payed* (or *given*) to the Presbyters, or Priests in the Country or City, but to the Bishop, or his Deputy, who was *Oeconomus* or *Steward*, to distribute them to the Presbyters and Poor. The Presbyters (*Urban* or *Rural*) were designed to the Employment by the Bishop, and at the beginning they were of the Bishops Family, and did live of the *Sportula* [i. e. of the Oblation of the Church] before the distinction of Parishes came up; so saith Bp. *Andrews* in his Letter to *D. Moulin*, of Episcopacy, p. 18. Which is more fully delivered by Mr. *Selden* (and confessed by Dr. *Tilley*, that it is not improbable to have been so) 'That as *Metropolitick Sees, Patriarchates, (Exarchates in the Eastern-Church)* and *Bishopricks*, those greater Dignities, were most usually at first ordained, and limited according to the

the distinction of Seats of Government,
 and inferiour Cities, that had been assign'd
 to the Substitutes or *Vicarii* of the *Præfelli-*
prætorio, or Vice-Roys of the East and
 West Empire, so were Parishes appointed
 and divided to several Ministers within
 the Ecclesiastical Rule of those Dignities,
 according to the conveniences of Country-
 Towns and Villages; one, or more, or less,
 (of such as being but small Territories,
 might not by the Canons, be Bishopricks)
 to a Parish; the word *Paræcia* or *Parish*, at
 first denoting a whole Bishoprick (which
 is but a great Parish) and signifying no
 otherwise than *Dioecesi*. But afterward be-
 ing confined to what our Common Lan-
 guage restrains it, the *Curates* of those
 Parishes were such as the Bishop appointed
 under him to have care of Souls in them,
 and those are they which the old Greek
 Councils call *πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιχόριοι οἱ ἐν ταῖς*
χωραῖς, or *ἐν ταῖς χώραις πρεσβύτεροι*: That is,
Presbyteri Parochiani, within the Bishoprick.
 These had their Parishes assigned them,
 and in the Churches where they kept their
 Cure, the Offering of Devout Christians
 were received, and disposed of, in Main-
 tenance of the Clergy, and Relief of dis-
 tressed Christians, by the *Oeconomi* Dea-
 cons, or other Officers thereto appointed
 under the Bishop. Neither had those Pa-
 rochial Priests at first such a peculiar inte-
 rest in the profits received in Oblations,
 as of later time. All that was received,
 where-

*Selden Hist.
of Tithes, c.
a. p. 36, 37.*

‘ wheresoever in the Bishoprick, was as a
 ‘ Common Treasury to be so dispensed.
 ‘ One part was allowed for the Maintenance
 ‘ of the Ministry (out of which every Pa-
 ‘ rochial Minister had his Salary) accord-
 ‘ ing to a Collection Monthly made for the
 ‘ ends specified, and arbitrarily given, and
 ‘ called *Stipes*, which is a word borrowed
 ‘ from the use of the Heathens in their Col-
 ‘ lections made for their Temples and Dei-
 ‘ ties; another to the Relief of the Poor,
 ‘ and Sick, and Strangers; a third to the
 ‘ Reparation of Churches; and a fourth to
 ‘ the Bishop. So it appears by the ancient
 ‘ Canons, if we may at least herein con-
 ‘ jecture, of the use of the time, by what
 ‘ they have ordained. *Selden of Tithes, c. 6.*
 ‘ p. 80, 81.

XXVI. *If Tithes under the Levitical Law
 were not payed immediately to this or that
 Levite and Priest, but were brought into a
 common Barn and Treasury, and thence
 distributed according to the Exigencies of the
 several Priests, as they were* : And if*

* Philo Judæus de sacerdot. honor.
*Left any should upbraid the Priest
 with their Maintenance, they are
 commanded to bring their First-fruits
 to the Temple first, and thence the
 Priests receive them.*

*under the Primitive Chri-
 stians, the Collection of
 voluntary Tithes and Of-
 ferings was brought to
 the Bishop, and disposed
 of by him or his Depu-
 ty, unto the several offici-
 ating Presbyters, Urban and Rural; as it
 was* :*

subſiſtence of a *Toleration* (and there is nothing that makes it not ſo now, but ſome *Laws* not irrevocable) each Aſſembly maintained their *Biſhops* and *Clergy*; ſo that in one City you might have found an *Arrian*, a *Novatian*, and an *Orthodox* *Clergy*; yea, *Jewiſh Synagogue*, and an *Heathen Temple*, all maintained by voluntary contribution.

XXVIII. If *Tithes* are of *Divine Right*, then are they payable only to the *Clergy* labouring in the *Ministry*; and then muſt not all *Impropriations* and *Appropriations*, in whoſe Hands ſoever, be taken away? And would not this as much prejudice the *Universities*, as if the *Anabaptiſts*, &c. were gratified with their *Abolition*? And doth it not condemn all the practice of the *Ancients* who divided *Tithes*, to the *Poor* a moiety, as well as to the *Presbyter*?

XXIX. Whether the *Predeceſſors* of the *Proteſtants*, and thoſe who have ſo Honourable a mention in our *Books of Martyrs*, and other *Writings*, for witneſſing againſt *Popiſh* and *Anti-chriſtian Abuses*, did allow of *Tithes* and their *Divine Right*? (a)

(a) The *Bohemians* (being deſcended from the *Waldenſes*) did profeſs that all *Prieſts* ought to be *Poor*, and to be content with *Alms* alone. So ſaith *Aeneas Silvius* in his *Bohemian Hiſtory*, as it is cited by *Bp. Uſher*, de chr. eccleſ. ſucceſſ. c. 6. p. 155. who alſo (p. 169.) voucheth a paſſage out of *Ala-*

mus, l. 2. contr. *Waldensis*, shewing that their Opinion was, 'That the Clergy ought not to labour with their own hands, but to be supplied with necessities by them to whom they preached; which they endeavoured to prove by sundry Texts. For the Apostle saith to the *Corinthians*, 'Who goeth to War at his own Charges? Who plants a Vine, and eateth not of the Fruit thereof? Who feeds a Flock, and eateth not of the Milk thereof? &c. One of the Articles of *John Wickliff*, for which he was censur'd, is, 'That Tithes are pure Alms, and that the Parishioners may for the Offence of their Curates, detain and keep them back, and bestow them upon others, at their own Will and Pleasures.

Acts and
Mon. p. 435.

And the Proposition aforesaid is at large defended by *John Huss*, in the said Book of Martyrs, p. 461, &c. And in the conclusion of the Discourse it is affirmed, That the Clergy are not Lords and Possessors of Tithes, or other Ecclesiastical Goods, but only Stewards; and after the Necessity of the Clergy is once satisfied, they ought to be transported to the Poor.

At Geneva, Tithes of all sorts are taken up for the use of the State, and laid up in the publick Treasury, and Stipends issued out to maintain the Ministry; but those so mean, that *Beza's* Stipend, whilst he lived, hardly amounted to 80 l. per Annum; the Residue of the City Ministers not to 60 l. those of the Villages adjoyning having hardly 40 l. But the State doth make some

Vid. Hey-
lin's Geog.
descript. of
Geneva.

allowance to the Wives and Daughters of their deceased Ministers, if they die poor, or leave their Children unprovided for; or otherwise have deserved well in their Life-time. In *Holland* they are likewise maintained by Pensions from the State; as also in the *Palatinate*; and I believe in all the *Reformed Churches*, universally, not including the *Lutherans* in that number.

Adr. Saravia
de honore
presulibus
debito c. 10.

Adrianus Saravia professeth, That the *Levitical* Exaction of *Tithes* is ceased; and that *Christians* voluntarily pay what the *Jewish* Nation were enforced to. All that he holds to be *Moral*, is, That the Ministry be maintained: Upon the *Quota*, or determinate *Tenth*, he insists not; since he thinks, that the *Christians* should rather heighten than only equal the Gratitude of the *Jews* towards their Priests; since the Spiritual Mercies, which are conveyed unto them by the Ministers, exceed whatever that Nation did partake of. He thinks that *Con-*

stantine did give Tenths to the *Churches*, and that *That* is the meaning of those *Incomes* [*Vestigalia*] which that Emperor is said to have given; not that he should give them as *Jewish*, but as a *Civil* Sanction; it being the custom of the *Romans* to impose their *Taxes* after that manner. In like manner *Charlemain* having subdued the *Saxons*, and put their King *Widkindus* to flight; he laid upon them a Tax for the *Tenths*, part whereof he gave to his Nobles, and part to the Bishop. This Passage and Observation

servation of *Saravia*, makes me think, that
 the Usage of the *Romans*, to exact the
Tenths from such Nations as they conquered,
 by way of *Tribute*, may have as much ad-
 vanced the enforcement of *Tithes*, as the
Levitical Constitutions, which were urged
 by the Fathers, only to press the Equity of
 the thing, not to compel by their Exam-
 ple. For thus *Saravia*, 'If any shall object
 that *Oblations*, as well as *Tithes*, and other Ibid. c. 30.
 ' *legal Sacrifices*, are ceased: I would have
 ' him to know, that it is not affirmed that
 ' they are to be exacted after the same
 ' manner now, as they were then; nor
 ' were they so demanded by the Fathers:
 ' But they are to be given as Testimonies
 ' of our Gratitude towards God, and Love
 ' towards the Pastors of the Church; which
 ' Duty is not founded upon a *Temporary*,
 ' but *Perpetual Law*, which indubitably binds
 ' all Believers, as long as they are in this
 ' World. This being the Claim then which
 he allows for *Tithes*, I cannot but com-
 mend him for not insisting upon the *Quota*,
 or *Determinate Part*; since Gratitude ob-
 ligeth not a Man to this or that Gift par-
 ticularly, but that he make his acknow-
 ledgments according to his ability. In *Eng-*
land, after the *Reformation*, neither King Injun. of
Edward the Sixth, nor Queen *Elizabeth*, K. Ed. 6.
 own the *Divine* or *Moral Right* of *Tithes*, §. 18. of
 but deny the *Clergy* to have any *Propriety* Q. Eliz.
 in them; and what they receive beyond §. 15.
 necessary Supplies, is by them both ad-

judged to the Poor: They both declare, That none shall detain his Tithes, for as much as by Laws Established, every Man is bound to pay them: And they both declare, That the Goods of the Church are called the Goods of the Poor; whereby they mean, that they are really so, (which was the opinion of F. Huss, already cited) for thereupon they Ordain, That such Parsons, Vicars, Prebendaries, &c. as receive Tithes and Church-Incomes, and do not reside upon their Benefices, to dispend there, and practise Charity to the Poor, shall distribute amongst their Poor Parishioners, and other Inhabitants there, in the presence of the Church-Wardens, or some other honest Men of the Parish, the Fortieth Part of the Fruits and Revenues of their said Benefices, lest they be worthily noted of Ingratitude; which, reserving to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the Fortieth Portion thereof among the Poor People of that Parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them: And they do farther enjoin, That every Clerk, or Beneficed Person, having Yearly to dispend in Benefices, and other Promotions of the Church, an hundred Pounds, shall give 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. in Exhibition to one Scholar in any of the Universities; and for as many Hundreds of Pounds as he may dispend, to so many Scholars more shall he give the like Exhibition: As also, That such Proprietaries and Parsons shall lay out the Fifth Part of their Benefices, till they be repaired; and after, should maintain them in good state. It is clear, that if they had reputed the Quota, or determinate Tenth,

Injunct. of
K. Ed. 6.
S. 14. Of
Q. Eliz.
S. 11.

K. Ed.
S. 25.

Q. Eliz.
S. 12.

Ibid. S. 16.

Ibid. S. 13.

to be Morally Due, or by Divine Right, they could not have made these Laws or Injunctions: But *the Goods of the Clergy, being the Goods of the Poor*, and they being no Proprietors, but Stewards, these Princes might regulate the Charity of such Beneficed Persons, without Violation of Property. From the Injunction aforesaid (from the Enquiries under the Bishops, which were made accordingly at their *Visitations*) I shall Remark what the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* save, in Comparison of the old *Episcopal Clergy*, they being not bound now (nor practising) to dispend, or give to the Poor, the Fortieth Part of their Benefices, or to give such proportions to poor *Scholars*; nor have I heard they were ever impleaded before the Triers hereupon.

This saying of theirs, That *the Goods of the Church are the Goods of the Poor*; which is to be understood definitely of *Tithes, Glebe-lands* and *Offerings*, puts me in mind of a new Question, *viz. Whose is the Property of Church-Goods?* That private Persons now possessed thereof, are not the Proprietors, is clear; since they cannot alienate or dispose of them as they will. And *Austin*, speaking of Church-lands attributed to his Bishoprick, saith, *Nōtis enim fratres, quia villę istę non sunt Augustini*, *August. tract. 6. in Joan.* *Leo X.* being Pope in the *Laterane Council*, *Sess. 9. in Bulla Reform. cur.* doth by the consent of that Council, declare himself Proprietor, and that he hath a ple-

nary Disposition of all Profits and Emoluments accruing to Churches Cathedral and Metropolitcal, Monastries, and all other Ecclesiastical Benefices, as he is Pope pro tempore. If this be so, then our supreme Magistrate, as vested with whatever Power was ascribeable to the Pope in Henry the Eighth's time, is Proprietor of them, and hath the Plenary Disposition of them. But setting aside the Consideration of what Power is placed in the Pope, by the Canonists, the Lateran Council, and General Practice of that Court, (which yet is very material, in reference to what Property our Common Laws are to determine of) Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and as hot a stickler for Church-Priviledges, as we hardly read of his like, saith, *Agros [ecclesie] si desiderat Imperator potestatem habet vindicandorum, nemo nostrum inter venit: potest pauperibus collatio populi redundare. Non facient de agris invidiam: tollant eos si libitum est*, Ambros. ep. 32. If the Emperor have a mind to Church-lands, he hath power to take them, there is none of us interposeth; the Poor may be sufficiently maintained by popular Collections. Let them not create us envy by talking of those Lands, but let them take them away, if they please. I shall observe, first, that in those days the Ministry was not maintained by a ferled Tithe, like to that in our times, but by voluntary Oblations of the People, and by such Lands as were given to several Churches by the Emperors, and the Benevolence of Well-disposed Christians, together with Con-
gariaries

giaries, or Distributions of Corn and other Provisions, of the Emperor's allowance. It is upon this account that he speaks only of Church-lands; and would you know who is in his judgment the Proprietor of them? It is the Emperor: He hath Power to take them away. Would you know whose use they are for? When he tells you, that if they be taken away, the Poor may be supplied by Popular Collections, you cannot doubt that the Lands were for their use; or if you can, the same Author, ep. 13. will inform you directly, *possessio Ecclesie sumptus est egenorum*: What the Church possesseth, it is for the Maintenance of the Poor. If this be so (of which the most perverse Opponent may be satisfied out of *Antonius de Dominus*, Bishop of Spalato, *de rep. eccles. l. 9.*) I do not see how the Quakers, and others, who have petitioned against Tithes, do overthrow Property. For if the Property thereof be vested in the Parliament, as supreme, whether Primarily, or by vertue of that Act which did settle the Papal Power upon our English Kings, to petition, That they would abolish Tithes, is not to destroy their Property, but to desire they would otherwise dispose of it: And whilst they own the Authority of the Common-Wealth, and the others complot for the overthrow of it; we need not seek far in discovery of who would subvert Property, as far as Tithes are concerned therein. In fine, since without a subversion of Property

P. 25.

perty, our Ministers received them from Papists that were ejected; and to whom they were given by the Donors, with such Curses as extend not to the second remove, I cannot imagine how Propriety will suffer by another disposal of them. Some make God to be the Proprietor of Church-Lands and Profits, as being given to him: But since (as the Form runs in *la Maistre de bon. Ecclesiast. part. 1. l. 2. c. 7.*) they were given to him out of hope of future Retribution, or to merit Pardon of Sin; and since he doth not transact with the Sons of Men upon those terms, it is certain God did never receive them, and so is not Proprietor; at least, it is a thing not yet revealed. Some make God to be the Proprietor of Tithes in a Moral Right, for Divine Positive Right there is none for this Plea; and to this they tell us of Abraham's paying Tithes to Melchizedec, being Priest to the Most High. And how Jacob vowed the Tenth of all the Lord should give him; and the Gentiles by Natural Instinct did pay them to their god. But to resume the last, as it is not denied, That in Italy, Greece, and the East, (from whence the Customs were Propagated to the other two; and so it is but a single Proof, not the Voice of Nature) upon several occasions, the Tithes were given to their gods; so we cannot grant it to have proceeded from any Instinct of the Natural Conscience in Man: For neither do we Experiment an Inbred Notion in our selves, nor the Reformed Churches,

no

no not at *Geneva*; nor did the Primitive Times any where, nor the Greek Church to this day; which is a sufficient Opposition to the Casual Practice of a few Nations acting blindly and Superstitiously: And if the Proof alledged from them may suffice, to prove the *Tenth to be God's by Propriety*, one may bring as much to prove that the Tenth doth appertain to the civil Magistrate, for that was a more Universal and Constant Practice than the other. As appears from *Montague* against *Selden*, and *La Maistre de bon. Eccles.* part 2. l. 1. c. 1. As for the Parenthesis of a Story concerning *Melchizedec*, I think it proves no more than *Jacob's Vow*, which is only matter of Fact; but not Right. But supposing God to be Proprietor, it doth not follow that the Abolishing of Tithes, by Act of Parliament, doth subvert Property. For seeing that our Goodness extends not to God, except it can be made out to whom God hath assigned the Receipt of his Tenth, the paying of it to any is an Alienation, and not the detaining them. If because *Melchizedec* received them as Priest, therefore Priests are to receive them; What is this to them who are not Priests? For that there is a Priesthood under the Gospel, is a Discovery which no Primitive Age, nor the *Albigenses*, *Luther*, *Salmasius*, &c. could yet admit. Are they payable to others besides Priests? What proof is there of that? Nature, the Scripture and Custom, all are silent as to that. The case being thus

thus, And seeing that the Christian Emperors did seize upon the *Pagan-Temple-Revenues* (without suffering them to revert to the Heirs of the Donors; for *Respondit Modestinus*, the Civil Lawyer in those days, being asked his advice, said, That ought not to be, *Digest. l. 33. tit. 2. de usu & usu fructu legatis leg. 16.*) and did distribute of them to the Maintenance of the Soldiery, and other uses, as to be given to some for Inheritances, or to defray the Domestick Charge of the Court, or to endow Christian-Churches, as they pleased, *Cod. Theod. libr. 16. tit. 10. de paganis. leg. 19, & 20.* And since they are the Goods of the Poor avowedly, as is confessed, if the Parliament, do take care that there be no Poor in our Gates, they shall do a more Noble Act; then if they continue those Revenues, though better managed than they are by the *Presbyterial Canons of Ch. Ch. in Oxon.* to the *Students* and *Alms-Men*, or else-where by any griping Parson.

I shall not enlarge any farther upon this point, only for the defence of such in our times, as would reduce the Ministry to a Maintenance by a voluntary Contribution, and abolish Tithes, I shall represent intirely, as it is set down in the *Book of Martyrs*, the Judgment of Mr. *William Thorp*; and since the *Martyrologer* doth call him a *Warriour*, *valiant under the Triumphant Banner of Christ*, and reproveth him not as an Enemy to the Gospel, or Gospel-Ministry, a *Boutefeu*, and
Abettor

*Abettor of Confusion and Disorder, an Invader of Propriety, an Atheist, or whatever else of ill Language is cast upon precious Men in our days; I shall desire the Reader carefully to mind what is said by the Examiner, and what by the Party examined, and see how far the Discourse may be accommodated, to the disagreeing Parties amongst us. He was examined in the Year 1407. under K. Henry the Fourth: He was brought before Thomas Arundell, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor then of England. In whose Examination, Mr. Fox tells his good Reader, That he shall have both to Learn and to Marvel: To Learn, in that he should hear **Truth** discoursed and discussed, with the contrary Reasons of the Adversary dissolved: To Marvel, for that he should behold here in this Man the marvellous force and strength of the Lord's Might, Spirit and Grace, working and Fighting in his Soldiers, and also speaking in their Mouths, according to the Word of his Promise, Luke 21.*

The

The Examination of that good Man, and
 blessed Servant of God, Mr. William
 Thorpe, a Martyr in the days of K.
 Henry the fourth, Anno Dom. 1407.
 concerning Tithes, and the Mainte-
 nance of a Gospel-Ministry; as it is
 recorded by Mr. Fox in his Acts and
 Monuments, p. 536, 537.

And the Arch-Bishop then spake to me
 all angelly, What sayest thou to this
 fourth point that is certified against thee,
 Preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury,
 that Priests have no title to *Tithes*?

And I said, Sir, I named there no
 word of *Tithes* in my Preaching. But more
 than a Month after that I was arrested, there
 in Prison a Man came to me, into the Pri-
 son, asking me what I said of *Tithes*? And
 I said to him, Sir, in this Town are many
 Clerks and Priests, of which some are called
 Religious Men, though many of them be
 Seculars. Therefore ask ye of them this
 Question: And the Man said to me, Sir,
 our Prelates say, that we also are obliged
 to pay our *Tithes* of all things that renew
 to us: And that they are accursed that
 withdraw any part wittingly from them of
 their *Tithes*. And I said, Sir, to that Man,
 as with my Protestation, I say now before
 you, That I wonder that any Priest dare say
 Men to be accursed, without the ground
 of

of God's Word. And the Man said, Sir, our Priests say, that they Curse Men thus by Authority of God's Law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this Sentence of Cursing is Authorized now in the Bible; and therefore, Sir, I pray you, that ye will ask the most cunning Clerk of this Town, that ye may know where this Sentence of Cursing them that *Tithe* not, is now writ in God's Law: For if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly this Man would not go from me, to ask this Question of another Body, but required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case, that Cursing of Priests were lawful and approved of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of *St. Peter*, teaching Priests specially to hallow the Lord Christ in their Hearts: Being evermore ready (as far as in them is) to answer thorough Faith and Hope to them that ask of them a Reason. And this lesson *Peter* teacheth Men to use with a meek Spirit, and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore, Sir, I said to this Man, in this wise, In the Old Law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose up again from Death to Life, God commanded *Tithes* to be given to the *Levites*, for the great Business and daily Travel that pertained, to their Office. But Priests, because their Travel was mekil more easie and light, than was the Office of the *Levites*, God ordained the Priest should take for their livelihood

livelihood to do their Office, the tenth part of those *Tithes* that were given to the *Levites*: But now (I said) in the New Law, neither Christ nor any of his Apostles took *Tithes* of the People, nor commanded the People to pay *Tithes*, neither to Priests nor Deacons. But Christ taught the People to do Alms, that is, works of Mercy, to poor needy Men (of Surplus, that is superfluous, of their Temporal Goods) which they had, more than them needed reasonably to their necessary livelihood. And thus (I said) not of *Tithes*, but of pure Alms of the People, Christ lived, and his Apostles; when they were so busie in preaching of the Word of God to the People, that they might not Travel otherwise for to get their livelihood. But after Christ's Ascension, and when the Apostles had received the Holy Ghost; they travelled with their Hands, for to get their livelihood, when that they might thus do for busie-Predching. Therefore by example of himself, St. Paul teacheth all the Priests of Christ for to Travel with their Hands, when for busie-Teaching of the People they might thus do. And thus, all those Priests whose Priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the Apostles time, and after their Decease will do to the World's End. But (as *Cisterciensis* telleth) in the Thousand Year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211. Year, one Pope the 10. Gregory, ordained new *Tithes* first to be given to Priests now in the New Law.

But

But St. *Paul* in his time, whose Trace or Example all Priests of God enforce them to follow, seeing the Covetousness that was among the People, desiring to destroy that foul Sin through the Grace of God and true Vertuous Living, and Example of himself: Wrote and Taught all Priests for to follow him, as he followed Christ, Patiently, Willingly, and Gladly, in high Poverty: Wherefore, *Paul* saith thus, The Lord hath ordained that they that Preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel. But we (saith *Paul*) that covet and busie us to be Faithful Followers of Christ, use not this Power. For lo (as *Paul* witnesseth afterwards) when he was full poor and needy, Preaching among the People, he was not chargeous unto them, but with his Hands he travelled, not only to get his own Living, but also the living of other poor and needy Creatures. And since People was never so Covetous, nor so Avarous (I guess) as they are now, it were good Counsel that all Priests took heed to this Heavenly Learning of *Paul*, following him here in wilful Poverty, nothing charging the People for their bodily livelihood. But because that many Priests do contrary to *Paul* in this aforesaid Doctrine: *Paul* biddeth the People take heed to those Priests that follow him, as he had given them Example. As if *Paul* would say thus to the People: Accept ye none other Priests than they, that live after the form that I have taught you.

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For certain, in whatsoever Dignity or Order that any Priest is in, if he conform him not to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilful Poverty, and in other Heavenly Vertues, and specially in true Preaching of God's Word; though such a one be named a Priest, yet he is no more but a Priest in name, for the work of every Priest in such a one wanteth. This sentence approveth *Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostom* and *Lincoln*, plainly.

And the Arch-Bishop said to me, Thinkest thou this wholesome Learning for to sow openly, or yet privily among the People? Certain, this Doctrine contrarieth plainly the Ordinance of Holy Fathers, which have ordained, granted and licensed Priests to be in divers Degrees, and to live by *Tithes* and Offerings of the People, and by other Duties.

✠ And I said, Sir, if Priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived Vertuously, and taught busily and truly the Word of God, by Example of Christ, and of his Apostles, without *Tithes*, Offerings and other Duties, that Priests now challenge and take: The People would give them freely sufficient livelyhood.

And a Clark said to me, How wilt thou make this good, that the People will give freely to Priests their livelyhood: Since that now by the Law every Priest can scarcely constrain the People to give them their livelyhood.

✠ And

And I said, Sir, it is now no wonder tho' the People grudge to give Priests the livelyhood that they ask: Mekl People know now, how the Priests should live, and how that they live contrary to Christ and to his Apostles. And therefore the People is full heavy to pay (as they do) their Temporal Goods to Parsons, and to other Vicars and Priests, which should be faithful Dispensators of the Parishes Goods: Taking to themselves no more, but a scarce Living of *Tithes*, nor of Offerings, by the Ordinance of the common Law: For, whatsoever Priests take of the People (be it *Tithe* or Offering, or any other Duty or Service) the Priests ought not to have thereof no more, but a bare living; and to depart the residue to the poor Men and Women, especially of the Parish of whom they take this Temporal Living. But the most deal of Priests now wasteth their Parishes Goods, and spendeth them at their own will after the World, in their vain Lusts: So that in few places poor Men have duly (as they should have) their own sustenance, nother of *Tithes*, nor of Offerings, nor of other large Wages and Foundations, that Priests take of the People in divers manners above that they need for needful Sustenance of Meat and Clothing. But the poor needy People are forsaken and left of Priests, to be sustained of the Parishioners, as if the Priests took nothing of Parishioners for to help the People with.

And thus, Sir, into over-great Charges of the Parishioners they pay their Temporal Goods twice, where once might suffice, if Priests were true Dispensators: Also, Sir, the Parishioners that pay their Temporal Goods (be they Tithes or Offerings) to Priests that do not their Office among them justly, are partners of every Sin of those Priests, because that they sustain those Priests Folly in their Sin, with their Temporal Goods. If these things be well considered, what wonder is it then, Sir, if the Parishioners grudge against these Dispensators.

Then the Arch-Bishop said to me, Thou that shouldst be judged and ruled by Holy Church, presumptuously thou deemest Holy Church to have erred in the Ordinance of *Tithes*, and other Duties to be paid to Priests. It shall be long or thou thrive, Losel, that thou despisest thy Ghostly Mother. How darest thou speak this (Losel) among the People? Are not *Tithes* given to Priests for to live by?

☞ And I said, Sir, St. Paul saith, That *Tithes* were given in the old Law to Levites and to Priests, that came of the Lineage of *Levi*. But our Priests, he saith, came not of the Lineage of *Levi*, but of the Lineage of *Judah*, to which *Judah* no *Tithes* were promised to be given. And therefore Paul saith, Since the Priesthood is changed from the Generation of *Levi*, to the Generation of *Judah*: It is necessary that changing also
be

be made of the Law. So that Priests live now, without *Tithes* and other Duty that they now claim, following Christ and his Apostles, in willful Poverty, as they have given them Example. For since Christ lived (all the time of his Preaching) by pure Alms of the People. And by Example of him, his Apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the Travel of their Hands, as it is said above. Every Priest, whose Priesthood Christ approveth, knoweth well, and confesseth in Word, and in Work, that a Disciple ought not to be above his Master, but it sufficeth to a Disciple to be as his Master, Simple and Pure, Meek and Patient: And by Example specially of his Master Christ, every Priest should rule him in all his living, and so after his cunning and power, a Priest should busie him to enform and to rule, whomsoever he might charitably.

And the Arch-Bishop said to me with a great Spirit, God's Curse have thou, and mine, for this Teaching: For thou wouldst hereby make the Old Law more free and perfect than the New Law. For thou sayst, that it is lawful to Levites and to Priests to take Tithes in the Old Law, and so to enjoy their Priviledges: But to us Priests in the New Law, thou sayst, it is not lawful to take Tithes. And thus thou givest Levites of the Old Law, more freedom than to Priests of the New Law.

✠ And I said, Sir, I marvel that ye understand this plain Text of *Paul* thus. Ye wot well, that the Levites and Priests in the Old Law that took Tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his Apostles that took no Tithes. And, Sir, there is a Doctor (I think that it is *St. Jerom*) that saith thus: The Priests that challenge now in the New Law Tithes, say in effect that Christ is not become Man, nor that he hath yet suffered Death for Man's Love. Wherefore, this Doctor saith this Sentence, Since Tithes were the Hires and Wages limited to Levites and to Priests, of the Old Law, for bearing about of the Tabernacle, and for Slaying and Fleying of Beasts, and for burning of Sacrifice, and for keeping of the Temple, and for tromping of Battle before the Host of *Israel*, and other divers Observances that pertained to their Office: Those Priests that will challenge to take Tithes, deny that Christ is come in the Flesh, and do the Priests Office of the Old Law, for whom Tithes were granted: For else (as this Doctor saith) Priests take now Tithes wrongfully.

And the Arch-Bishop said to his Clerks, Heard ye ever *Lofel* speak thus? Certain this is the Learning of them all, that where-soever they come, they may be suffered: They enforce them to expugn the freedom of Holy Church.

✠ And

✠ And I said, Sir, why call you the taking of Tithes, and of such other Duties that Priests challenge now (wrongfully) the freedom of Holy Church? Since neither Christ nor his Apostles, challenge nor took such Duties. Herefore these takings of Priests now are not called justly the freedom of Holy Church, but all such giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the slanderous Covetousness of Men of the Holy Church.

And the Arch-Bishop said to me, Why lofel, wilt not thou, and others that are confedered with thee, seek out of Holy Scripture and of the Sense of Doctors, all sharp Authorities against Lords, Knights and Squires, and against other secular Men, as thou dost against Priests?

✠ And I said, Sir, whatsoever Men or Women, Lords or Ladies, or any other that are present in our Preaching specially, or in our communing after our cunnings, we tell out to them their Office and other Charges. But, Sir, since *Chrysostome* saith, that Priests are the Stomach of the People, it is needful in Preaching, and also in Communing, to be most busie about this Priesthood, since by the Viciousness of Priests, both Lords and Commons are most Sinfully infected, and led into the Worke. And because that the Covetousness of Priests, and Pride, and the boast that they have and make of their Dignity and Power, destroyeth not only the Vertues of Priesthood

in Priests themselves, but also over this; it stirreth God to take great Vengeance both upon the Lords, and upon Commons, which suffer these Priests charitably.

And the Arch-Bishop said to me, Thou judgest every Priest Proud that will not go arrayed as thou doest. By God I deem him to be more meek, that goeth every day in a Scarlet Gown, than thou in thy thread-bear Blew Gown. Whereby knowest thou a proud Man?

And I said, Sir, a proud Priest may be known, when he deemeth to follow Christ and his Apostles in wilful Poverry and other Vertues; and covereth worldly Worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with Pleding, Menacing, or with Flattering, or with Simony, any worldly Goods: And most, if a Priest busie him not chiefly in himself, and after in all other Men and Women after his Cunning and Power, to withstand Sin.

And the Arch-Bishop said to me, Tho' thou knewest a Priest to have all these Vices, and tho' thou sawest a Priest lovely lye now by a Woman, knowing her Fleshly; Wouldest thou therefore deem this Priest damnable? I say to thee that in the turning about of thy Hand, such a Sinner may be verily repented.

And I said, Sir, I will not Damn any Man for any Sin that I know done, or may be done, so that the Sinner leaveth his Sin. But by authority of Holy Scripture, he that
Sinneth

Sinneth thus openly, as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a Sin: And most specially, a Priest that should be Example to all other for to hate and fly Sin. And in how short time that ever ye say that such a Sinner may be repented; he ought not of him that knoweth his Sinning, to be judged verily Repentant, without open evidence of great Shame, and hearty Sorrow for his Sin. For whosoever (and specially a Priest) that useth Pride, Envy, Covetousness, Lechery, Simony, or any other Vices; and sheweth not as open evidence of Repentance, as he hath given evil Example and occasion of Sinning, if he continue in any such Sin as long as he may; it is likely that Sin leaveth him, and he not Sin: And as I understand such a one Sinneth unto Death, for whom no Body oweth to pray, as St. *John* saith.

And a Clark said then to the Arch-Bishop, Sir, the longer that ye oppose him, the worse he is: And the more ye busie to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind, that he shameth not only to be himself a foul Nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his Nest fouler.

*The Judgment of the Learned David
Paræus, a Reformed Divine of Heidel-
berg, in the Palatinate (where Ministers
have no Tithes) concerning Tithes.*

David Paræus, in his Commentary upon
Genesis 28. 22. where Jacob, after God
had appeared to him in a Dream at Bethel,
vowed unto the Lord the Tenth of that
Substance which the Lord should give him:
He thereupon makes this ensuing Discourse
about Tithes, whether they are due under
the New Testament:
Tithes or Tenths were free and arbitra-
ry before the Law, as appears by the Ex-
ample of Abraham and Jacob; a Man
might give them, a Man might vow
them, or he might not, as he pleased.
Under the Law they were commanded
by God to be given to the Priests, Levit.
27. And the Reasons thereof are clear:
First, The Tenths were a Compensation
unto the Levites, for the Twelfth part of
the Land, which ought to have fallen
otherwise to their share. Moreover, they
were the Salaries of the Priests and Le-
vites, and Maintenance of the Poor. For
God instituted three Tenths; first, the
Tenths of the Levites, Levit. 27. Second-
ly, The Tenths of Tenths, or the Hun-
dredths, to be payed by the Levites to the
Priests, Num. 18. 26. Thirdly, the Poor
Man's

Man's Tenth, which was to be paid every
 third Year, after the *Jubilee*, unto the Poor,
 Strangers, Widows, Orphans, *Deut. 14.*
 28. The Tithes were therefore of old
 due by *Divine Right*. Hence our Clergy-
 Men infer, *If they were so of old, then are*
they so now. But it doth not follow:
 I answer, therefore first, that the Clergy
 of old had a *Divine Ceremonial*, not a *Di-*
vine Moral Right of Constitution, *Num. 18.*
 27, 28. That Right is now ceased, there-
 fore the *now Clergy* cannot claim Tithes
 by vertue of such a Right. Secondly,
 there is a great difference betwixt our
 Clergy and the *Jewish*; they were appoint-
 ed by God to Sacrifice, ours are not so;
 they had Tithes as a Compensation of that
 Lot which they should otherwise have in
 the Land; ours have them not upon such
 an account; they had no Lands nor Pos-
 sessions, besides the Tithes; ours have
 Towns, Villages, Mannors, yea, Coun-
 ties and Provinces; nor is there any end
 of their unsatiable Coverousness, devour-
 ing the Houses of Widows and Orphans
 under the pretence of Massing and Prayl-
 ing, *Mat. 23.* Therefore when the *Leviti-*
cal Priesthood did cease, then did the Right
 of that *Priesthood* cease; and the Right of
 Tithes did revert to God, as Governour
 and Sovereign of the World. And this
 Right did God, under the *Judaical Polity*,
 bestow upon the King, *1 Sam. 8.* And
Paul ascribes the Right of publick Cu-
 stoms,

stoms, Taxes and Tributes unto the *supreme*
Magistrate, Rom. 13. If therefore Empe-
 rors, Kings and Christian Potentates have
 bestowed upon any Churches the Tenths
 for the Maintenance of the *Clergy*, then
 it is not by any Divine, but Humane Right,
 that the said *Clergy* do receive Tithes. And
 therefore, if the said *Clergy* do not dis-
 charge their Duty, in teaching the *Churches*
 under them, but degenerate into idle and
 wanton Persons, as we see now-a-days,
 then, even by the Laws of Man, do they
 lose all Right to Tithes, and they may
 revert to the Magistrate. For when the
 Office ceaseth, the Benefit also ceaseth:
 And he deserves to lose his Priviledges,
 who doth misuse the Power that is granted
 him. 11. *quæst. 3. c. Privilegium.*

The same *Paræus*, in his Commentary
 upon the Thirteenth of the *Romans*, where
 he debates the *Pope's Supremacy in Temporals*,
 brings in, as an Objection for his Paramount
 Dignity and Superiority, That he who receives
 Tithes is superior to him that gives them: But
 the *Pope* receives Tithes. It is from this Ob-
 jection observable, how prejudicial the pay-
 ing of Tithes (if continued) may prove to
 a State, in order to a subverting of the Ma-
 gistracy. But *Paræus's* answer is, That the
Major is false, if it be taken Universally.
 For in the Old Testament some Tithes
 were paid to the poor, and inferiour sort.
 For there were then three sorts of Tithes.
 1st. The common Tisbe, which was paid to the
 Levites.

' *Levites*, as a Compensation for the twelfth
 ' part of the Land, which they should
 ' otherwise have possessed; of these, see
 ' *Levit. 27. 30. 2dly. The Tithes of Tithes*,
 ' which the *Levites* payed out of their Tenth
 ' unto the Priests, for their Ministry; of
 ' which, see *Num. 18. 26. 3dly. The Poor*
 ' *Man's Tithes*, which was payed every third
 ' Year, after the *Sabbatical Year*; not only
 ' to the *Levites*, but were common to them
 ' with the *Poor, Widows, Orphans, and*
 ' *Strangers*; of which you may read *Dent.*
 ' *14. 28. The Rich gave to the Poor, Su-*
 ' *perious to Inferious*, not thereby to re-
 ' cognize their Power, but to recompence
 ' their Service, or for an Alms. Therefore the
 ' Major is not universally true, That he who
 ' receives Tithes, is greater than he that gives:
 ' [though it be true, when *Melchizedec* re-
 ' ceives Tithes, as well as blesseth.] But far-
 ' ther, omitting or supposing the Major,
 ' which the Apostle seems to suppose as
 ' granted, *Heb. 7. 5. saying, That Melchi-*
 ' *zedec in his Priesthood was greater than*
 ' *Aaron, because he received Tithes of Abra-*
 ' *ham.* I answer (saith *Paræus*) That the
 ' Syllogism hath four Terms in it. And the
 ' Major is true respecting Tithes, properly
 ' so called, and such as were due by the
 ' *Divine Ceremonial Laws.* And the Minor
 ' only true, as to Tithes, improperly so
 ' called, such as are of Humane Appoint-
 ' ment, as a *Stipend, Salary, or Reward*, and
 ' not by Constitution of the *Divine Ceremonial*
 ' *Law.*

' Law. For *Tithes*, properly so called, as
 ' the *First-fruits* by the *Ceremonial Law*,
 ' were due to God, who resigned his
 ' Right over to the *Levites*, and they did
 ' typifie *Christ*, whom the ancient *Jews*, by
 ' paying their *First-fruits* and *Tithes*, did
 ' worship and acknowledge as the future
 ' *Messiah*. For they were a part of the *Le-*
 ' *vitical Oblations*, as is manifest, *Num.* 18.
 ' 27, 28. But after the appearance of *Christ*,
 ' the *Levitical Laws* and *Oblations* ceased;
 ' and consequently so did the *First-fruits*
 ' and *Tithes*, properly so called. As for
 ' the *Fishes* which were afterwards continu-
 ' ed by the Law of Nations, they were
 ' partly granted by the Liberality of Em-
 ' perors and Kings, unto the Clergy and
 ' Churches; yet not as *Tithes*, but as Sala-
 ' ries in Ordinary; not by vertue of any
 ' Ceremonial Law, but by the Moral Law,
 ' or Law of Nations, whereby Stipends are
 ' due to the Ministers of the Church; For
 ' the Labourer is worthy of his Hire; and by
 ' positive Constitutions, whereby this or
 ' that Stipend became their due. In some
 ' places therefore Pastors have, by Humane
 ' Prescription, the *Sixtieths* and *Thirtieths*, no
 ' less than *Tithes*. In some places they
 ' have Lands and Fields; in some places
 ' Money, or a determinate quantity of Corn;
 ' as a just Recompence for their Perfor-
 ' mances. Now from hence no Superiority
 ' of Power can be infer'd, because a sa-
 ' tisfaction for pains taken is due, and is
 ' payed

‘payed as well to Inferiours as Superiours,
 ‘and by them: For as the *Magistrates* re-
 ‘ceive from the People *Tributes, Taxes, and*
 ‘*Tenhs*, whereby to maintain their Estates,
 ‘and uphold the Common-Wealth; so are
 ‘they obliged to sustain the Ministers of
 ‘State and Church with competent Sala-
 ‘ries, whether in *Tishes, Lands, or other*
 ‘*Revenue*.

XXX. *Whether they had the use of Bells in the
 primitive Times? And whether the Bells in*
England, that remain ever since the Reforma-
tion, have not been Popishly and Superstitiously
Chriftened?

That the first Christians had no *Bells*, is
 proved by *Vossius* in his Commentary upon
 the two Epistles of *Pliny*, and *Trajan*, and
Bernardinus de ritu concionandi. *Guido Panciro-*
lus saith, they were invented by one *Payli-*
nus Bishop of *Nola*: And that they were
 called *Nolæ* in Latine, from *Nola* the place
 where they were first made; and *Campanæ*,
 because invented in *Campania*. *Hospinian de*
orig. temp. saith, They were not used for
 certain in the first five Centuries almost of
 Christianity, when yet their Parishes, or
 Church-Precincts, were of a greater extent
 than the most diffused amongst us. As
 for their Baptizing of *Bells* amongst the
Papists, the several Ceremonies, their nam-
 ing them (and providing them *God-fa-*
thers) with much more solemnity than
 they Baptise; hercof you may be infor-
 med

med by *Hospinian de orig. templ. l. 4. c. 9.*

XXXI. *Whether it were not an act of Superstition, in former times, to build Churches and Chappels in the form or fashion of a Cross? Whether it were not a Sin of the like nature, in ancient times, to build their Churches East and West, that so the People might Bow and Pray towards the East, whence they expected the Son [of Righteousness] should arise? And whether both these Superstitions have not been renewed and practised lately in one of the Reformed Colledges of Oxford?*

*Brazen-nose
Colledge.*

XXXII. *Whether the primitive Christians had any Universities, or other Schools of Learning, than such as Origen did Catechise in at Alexandria? (*)*

*part 2. c. 26.
p. 89. co.
de grad. mi-
nist. c. 26.*

(*) *Gaudentius de mor. secul. Justinian.* faith, 'We do not read that ever the Ancients did openly, and in Schools teach Philosophy, since they did rather abhor it. — I would fain see any Man that could shew that the Christians, either before or in the time of *Justinian*, did openly teach Philosophy. And *Hadrian Saravia* informs us how the Primitive Christians, though they had not *Academical* Schools, like to those we have now a-days, yet it is evident that they were not altogether destitute of Schools, for they had one at *Alexandria*, which produced before *Origen*, *Pantenus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But these

these were but Schools in which they read Catechistical Lectures: Nor indeed have I ever heard of an University of the *Albigenses*, or *Waldenses* and *Bobemians*.

XXXIII. *Whether Ancient Times (and those not very Ancient neither) Record any more than that of Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Salamanca? And whether Christianity at that time were not of farther extent, than the Kingdoms those stood in?*

XXXIV. *Whether it were not the design of the Reformers, in King Edward the sixth's days, to put down Universities? (a) Whether the then Dean of Christ-Church (b) had not intentions to reduce Oxford to one or very few Colledges?*

(a) Doctor Langbain in his Preface to Sr. John Cheek's Book, *The Subject to the Rebel*, hath these words: 'The very Universities, which had been the Glory, were now become the Scorn or Pity of the Kingdom; their Libraries robbed and spoiled, either by pretended Authority or Connivance, their Liberties and Priviledges invaded, and born down by the prevailing Parties, the Townsmen of Oxford and Cambridge. Much of their present Maintenance, and the main hopes of their future Preferment, taken from them; at least in their Opinion: When they saw most or all their Revenues of their Colledges given to the
O King,

King. Some Bishopricks actually dissolved, and the whole Jurisdiction inclining to Ruin. This did strike them with such a Panick Fear, as did justly deter Parents from bestowing upon their Children, that ingenuous Education which was attended with so great Charges, and so small hopes; and such as were already entered upon that way, were forced to quit their Professions, and betake themselves to another kind of Life.

A little after, he having shewed out of John Bale a great Antiquary, and an Enemy to Monkeny and Popery, how the Anabaptists in Germany did not more destroy Libraries, than the English Reformers and their Adherents, adds, The very sight of those Barbarous Infolencies, committed upon those Treasuries of good Letters, Books and Libraries, could not but impress in serious Apprehensions, a deep sense of the approaching Funerals of most kinds of Learning, and make them take their long leaves of the University, and so they did: In so much that at Oxford, their publick Schools were converted into a private Garden-plot; their publick Treasury Robbed; their Moneys and Muniments imbell'd and wasted away, as does more largely appear by the Preface to a Royal Grant of Q. Mary's to that University, in the first of her Reign.

The

UMI

gifted. Yet was that fact attributed to Richard Cox, and Posterity hath imputed it to the Dean of Christ-Church under Edward the sixth, and stiled him the Robber [*predonem*] of Oxford-Library; I know not how justly, but sure I am, it was a performance not unbeseeming him, who had resolved by uniting several Colledges together, to overthrow the Colledge-Foundations, and entire frame [*totam Oeconomiam*] of Oxford; as is manifest out of the Archives of the University.

Dr. Langbain in the Preface already mentioned, saith, that under Edward the sixth, There was an ample Commission granted to the Earl of Warwick, and Eight more, any Seven, Six, Five, Four, Three, Two, or One of Them, to visit, in capite & membris, the whole Diocels of Oxford, but especially the University of Oxford. What other effects that Visitation had, does not well appear, but ('tis said) Richard Cox [who was an understanding and zealous Person, Tutor to K. Edward] who was one of them, did so clearly purge the University-Library of all Monuments of Superstition, that he left not one Book in it of all those goodly Manuscripts—with which it was amply furnished.

XXXV. *Whether the rise of our present fashioned Universities, and University-Habits, was not from Dominicans; an Order instituted by the Pope to suppress*

Vis scire, quales Dominus quærat ornatus? Habeto prudentiam, justitiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem, Id:ronim. ad Nepotianum, ep. 3.

Un- cal- bu- me- fuc-

The Queen to all unto whom these present Letters shall come, Greeting. We have been informed by several Witnesses, and it hath been evidently represented unto us by certain Proofs, that our University of Oxford, which is, as it were, the one Eye of the Nation, and hath been formerly the Seat of good Learning, hath been so injured by the Times, that it is almost desolate, and extinct in its Repute: That the Schools, in which they used to Meet and Dispute, are laid waste, and turned into Gardens; the publick Treasury Rifled, the publick Ornaments Defaced, Revenues impaired, so as they are reduced to almost nothing. We therefore thinking it to appertain to our Royal Duty to establish that almost ruined place, and re-erect the Schools, that it may subsist, as we hope, for ever, as without which neither can the Orthodox [that is Popish] Religion be defended, nor Controversies according to Truth determined, nor Justice duly administred in the Common-Wealth, &c. And (adds Dr. Langbain) though this might perswade with some, that to be a Scholar was none of the greatest Curses: Yet I do not see that the People were heartily friends with Learning all Q. Mary's days, nor in the beginning of Q. Elizabeth.

(b) Brian Twyne in his Appendix to what he had written about the Antiquity of the University of Oxford, saith, that 'The publick Library there did Flourish for many Years, until that it was dissolved by some, whose names unto Posterity none hath registered.

suppress the Waldenses, those Predecessors of the Protestants? Whether this be the Spot or Attire of God's Children? And whether they have not the Spirit, as well as Garb, of Persecutors, and the Man of Sin?

XXXVI. *Whether the Institution of Doctoral Degrees be not Novel? (a) And accounted Antichristian by the Reformed Churches in Scotland, France, Holland, Switzerland, and the Calvinist in High-Germany? And whether they have any in those Countries (b)? Or any constant peculiar Habits in their Universities (c)?*

(a) Gaudent. de mor. sec. Justin. 'Did they in the time of Justinian create any Doctors, who had finished their Studies, and their time of being Masters? Was this their Custom? There is no Ground for any Man to think so: For that was an Invention of later Years, nor of those Ancient Times. When Learning began to be restored again, about 300 Years ago, then the Name and Title of Doctor began to be conferred Solemnly.

(b) The Degree of Doctor of Divinity, as it is conferred upon one who resides in an University, and Preacheth or Disputeth occasionally, and as it is made up of nothing but an having performed (or not performed, but procured a Dispensation for) such and such Exercises after the staying

(or buying) of so much Time, With the

What I say here doth not prejudice the deduction of our *Doctors* (and *Ministry* ordained by imposition of hands) from the *Jewish Rabbines*: Of which see *J. Scaliger. Elench Tribures. c. 10.* And since *Rabbi* was the title given at *Jewish Promotions*, I am apt to think that such *Degrees* were absolutely condemned, *Matth.* 23. v, 8, 9.

expende of so much Money, and the discharge of several Ridiculous Solemnities, together with the constant wearing of a *Cowl*, and some other *Vestments*, fetched out of a Popish Wardrobe: This,

as I remember very well to have read somewhere, and sundry Foreign Divines have told me, is by the Reformed Churches esteemed of as Antichristian. Sure I am, that I never heard, nor read of any such Degree collated amongst them, nor do they admit of any but such as are *Professors of Divinity*; so *Beza* was Pastor and Doctor at *Geneva*. The Degree is as Popish as the Divinity whereto it refers: A Divinity erected in 1220, and which is acknowledged to have been the subversion of Christianity. A Doctor that is no Teacher, he is a dumb Dog, an insignificant piece of Formality in the *University*, reserved by the Reformers (as it were) upon such ground as *Constantine* in the demolishing of Statues, preserved some *Heathen Idols*, that Posterity might know what Beasts their Fathers had worshipped. The *Genevians* in their Annotations upon the Ninth of the *Revelations*, *vers. 3.* where the *Locusts* came out of the Smoak, saith, They were and are False Teachers, Hereticks, and worldly subtle Prelates, with Monks, Friars, Cardinals, Patriarchs,

Hospinian
de orig. tem
pl. 1. 3. c. 3.

archs, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Doctors, Bachelors and Masters.

Does not this Note apparently fasten the name of *Locusts* upon the Clergy of this Land, and all such as are Graduated in the University, by the name of *Doctors, Bachelors and Masters*? And doth it not as plainly Yoak them with *Friars, Monks and Cardinals*, principal Instruments in all times to advance *Popedom*? I know the words which follow after, are alledged by some, to take off the Envy of this Note, *viz. Who forsake Christ to maintain false Doctrines.* But the enumeration of so many particulars, makes not that Note the less invidious, the said Explication notwithstanding; because the Note had been as perfect and significant, had it gone thus in generals only, that is to say, by *Locusts* here are meant false Teachers, Hereticks, and other worldly subtle Men, that seduced the People, perswading them to forsake Christ to maintain false Doctrines: Dr. Heylin against Fuller's History, p. 179, 180.

(c) As for *Habits*; that they have some Particularities, at the time of *Academical Promotions*, I shall not deny, no not in *Scotland*; but the constant wear of them at Solemnities (for at other times there is not a different Habit between Scholars and others) I am not informed of. *Didaclevius*, the famous Scotch Presbyter, in his Book, called,

It was an Article of John Wickliff's, condemned at Constance, That Graduations and Doctorships in Universities and Colleges, as they were in use then, did conduce nothing to the Church, *Art. & Mon. p. 449.*

Altare Damascenum, p. 891. speaking of Clerical Habits, saith, 'That Hoods, Tippers and 'square Caps [*Epitogia, Liripipia, pilei quadrati, bardocuculi & id genus alie vestes*] were introduced by *Antichrist*, to promote 'his Splendor. It is an *Histrionical* or Stage-Play Dress, and altogether Ridiculous; 'being a distinguishing of some Men from 'others, by signs *useless*, and destitute of 'all Ornament. Upon their Shoulders hangs 'down an Hood, such as *Fools* sometimes 'wear, being neither handsome nor convenient. *Bucer* refused to wear a Square 'Cap; and being demanded the Reason, he 'replied, That *Nature had made his Head* 'round; as *Pilkington* relates it in his Letter 'to the Earl of *Leicester*. *Philpot* chose rather to be secluded the Convocation of 'the Clergy, than to wear an Hood and 'Tippet: As *Fox* tells us in his *Acts and Monuments*.

XXXVII. *Whether there are not in our, as well as other Antichristian Universities beyond Sea, the same, or rather more Popish, Idolatrous and Superstitious Habits, Ceremonies and Customs? Nay, whether they do not exceed them in Pomp, as well as Number?*

Here I am ready to cry out, *Come and see! Come and see!* Not *John the Baptist*, in the Wilderness; not *John the Divine* in *Pathmos*; but our *Theologues*, in their Pontificals at *Oxon*. View their Habits, their Ceremonies, their Processions, the respects due
to

to them by *Statute*, and you will find that *Petition from the Well-affected in Oxon*, was not groundless, which desired the abrogation of them, since they served to create a pride in them, who ought to be all meekness; and so render them *Averse* from going to preach, or *Scandalous* in the discharge thereof. Come and see the *Scarlet Whore*, represented in a *Glass*, multiplying *Doctors*: Come and see the difference betwixt *Presbytery* and *Popery*, since they apply that expression to *Democracy* so often, let me stile them in comparison of the *Romish Antichrist*, the more many-headed *Beast*: If the other strive to make the *Kings of the Earth* drunk with the *Cup of Fornications*, these catch at *Crowns* and *Half-Crowns*. As for the *Lost Sheep of Israel*, the poor and the weak whom God hath chosen, unless the *Salary* be good, they seem to be under as great a *Prohibition* from preaching to them, as the *Apostle* was from going into *Bitbynia*, *Acts 16. 7.*

Ornatus, u.
sordes, per
modo fugi-
enda sunt;
quia alter-
um delictu-
m, alterum
gloriam re-
dolet. Hier-
on. ad Ne-
potian.

Impior
voluxi-
palay.

XXXVIII. *Whether the University-Hood be not the product of the Old Monkish Melote, spoken of by Cassian de institutione Monachorum; and grounded upon the Superstitious Exposition of that place in Heb. 11. They wandered about in μωνασταῖς, in Sheep-skins? Whether it were not a Religious Habit, it being a Badge of Monckery, according to Cassian and Jerom, upon Pachomius's Rule?*

XXXIX.

XXXIX. *Whether it be not a Superstitious and Detestable Exposition of that Scripture, Stand fast, having your Loyns girt, &c. To accommodate it to the Episcoparian Girdles, with which they tie in their Canonical Coats?*

XL. *Whether it be not a pretty Foundation for the Oxford-Doctors to stand Rooted and Spurred in the Act; (a) Because there is mention made in the Scripture of being shod with the preparation of the Gospel?*

(a) See Statut. Acad. Oxon. Tit. 7. sect. paragr. 17.

XLI. *Whether the University of Oxford do well to give for their Arms the Book with seven Seals? Is not that a gross Abuse of what is laid down in the Revelations; as if the seven Liberal Arts, (two whereof are Grammar and Riddling) were typified by those Seals which none were worthy to open but the Lamb?*

XLII. *Whether Ministers do well to go in Black, or the Universities to command it.*

See Statut. Acad. Oxon. Tit. 14. paragr. 1. The words of the Statutes are in English thus: *It is Ordered, That all Heads of Colleges, all Fellows and Scholars wear Black, or Sad-coloured Clothes, and all that are initiated into Holy Orders, as it becomes those of the Clergy to do. Clemens Alexandrinus expressly condemns all Coloured Clothes, and makes it the Command or Doctrine of the great Christian School-Master [Christ] to go in*
White,

White, as any one may read in his *Pædagog.*
 l. 2. & l. 3. *Ἀδωσιν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἰσχυρὸς*
χρῆσθαι τῇ λετῇ χροῖα δὲ τῇ λευκῇ.

Didoclaivius, in his *Altire Damascenum*,
 p. 888. observes, in opposition to the
Episcopal Garbs, that *Paul* ordains, That a
 Bishop, or Minister, be *κόσμιος* decently at-
 tired, but not distinguished from other
 Men, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. He cannot find (p. 889.)
 to what purpose they should affect a *sing-*
lar Habit, but to receive Salutations and
 Addresses from the People in Assemblies,
 as did the *Pharisees*, *Mat.* 23. 5, 6, 7. The
 Apostles did not distinguish themselves in
 their Attire from other Men, whether Be-
 lievers or Unbelievers: They were known
 by their Speech, and not their Array, to be
Galileans, *Mat.* 26. 73. These and much
 more is said by him against a *Singularity of*
Dress, in ordinary appearances.

XLIII. *Whether there were not of old amongst*
the Jews a sort of Men called Chemarims or
Black-coats? Whether those were the People of
God? (2) And whether the Translators of the They render
Bible into English did well to conceal the true it Priests,
meaning of this Word, by putting another for it, Hof. 10. 5.
or the very Word it self in English Letters?

Amongst the *Jews*, those Kings who busied
 themselves to seduce the People unto, or
 continue them in *Idolatry*, they contrived
 a sort of *Idolatrous Priests*, 2 *Kings* 23. 5.
 who were attired in *Black*, that they might,
 by the speciousness of their *Habit*, and af-
 fected

sected Gravity, become a Snare. These were prophesied against by *Hosea*, chap. 10. 5. though our *Translators* do not express the word *Chemarim*, or *Black-coat*, in the Text, yet doth *Chemarim* stand in the Margin. They were suppressed by *Josiah*, 2 Kings 23. 5. And God, by *Zephaniah*, chap. 1. 4. saith, That he will stretch out his hand upon Judah, and upon all the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and cut off the Remnant of Baal, and the name of Chemarims, with the Priests. By destroying the name of *Chemarims*, he shews his Wrath and Resentments against the Colour and Habit; for he doth not only threaten to Exterminate the Priests, the *Cobanim*, but even the Name of *Black-coat*, or *Chemarim*, which must be effected by putting down the Superstitious Habit (as *Buxtorf* in his Hebrew Lexicon phraseth it) since he did not intend they should call Black White. The Jews at this day call the Monks *Chemarims*, as our Ministers may be stiled likewise.

Vid. Fuller's
Holy Land,
in his Treas-
ure of Gar-
ments. c. 6.
And *Bux-*
torf in his
Lexicon in
loc.

Jerom bids
Nepotian,
being to en-
ter upon the
Clergy, to
avoid Black
Attire.

XLIV. Whether, in *Tertullian's* time, every one that did turn Christian, or at least was made a Presbyter, did not renounce his Gown (which was the Roman Vestment) for a long dark-coloured Cloke? Whether afterwards the Clergy and Laity did not relinquish that, for Coats (lacernæ) and both were alike habited? In fine, was not one, a Bishop, condemned at the Council of *Gangræ* for introducing the Fashion of long-sad-coloured Cloaks, that were counted at that Assembly, ἀνάμυτος τῇ ἰσχυρομύτῃ. unbecoming the Priesthood?

All

All this is clear to any Man that shall read out *Tertullian de Pallio*, with the Notes of *Salmasius* thereon.

XLV. *Whether the Doctors Scarlet Gowns were not at first instituted as an Emblem, or Representation of the Zeal, which they either had, or at least ought to have? (a) And whether those Doctors of Oxford and Cambridge, who wear Scarlet-Gowns, have not as little Zeal as those Doctors which wear none?*

Erasmus encom, Moriaë. 'What! Doth not the Scarlet signifie a most ardent Love towards God?

XLVI. *Whether any of the Ceremonies and Habits, now used in the Universities, had a very good Original, or have been employed to a good use since?*

XLVII. *Whether those things that had a good Original and Use (if they be not still necessary, or commanded by God) when once they have been used unto Idolatry or Superstition, are not quite to be abolished?*

'Tis much if it be not objected here by some, That though their Original were Popish and Antichristian; yet, since they are employed to better Ends and Uses, viz. For Distinction, Order and Decency, they may be lawfully enough retained. To this I shall answer, Might not the Jews have objected the same Reason to their Reformers, that the Golden-Calf and Groves might not be

be consumed, and turned into Ashes, because they might be employed hereafter to better uses? The one for Exchange and Traffick, the other for Building, Fuel, or a pleasant Shade, very convenient in that hot Country? Might not the *Brazen-Serpent*, though it were worshipped by some, yet still be preserved; because it might serve to put others in mind of God, who had cured, as well as the Pots of *Manna*, which were laid up to remember them, how God had miraculously fed their Fathers in the *Wilderness*? Yet when the *Brazen-Serpent* was once abused to Idolatry, away it must go. In like manner, was not *Baali* a proper significant good Word? Yet when once an Idol was called by it, the Lord (who is a Jealous God) would have it no more used in his Worship and Service, but commanded them to call him *Ishi*.

Yet we do not find *That* true neither, *That they are employed for Distinction and Decency*, but rather in Pride, Pomp, vain Glory: So that by retaining of them, they do no more than the *Levite*, who stole away *Micha's* gods from *Mount Ephraim*, and set them up at *Dan*, where Idolatry became a more publick Worship. 'Tis true, that while the Army continued in Action, 'twas thought fit by the *University Men* in part to lay them aside, at least for a while; but since the honest party of the Armies have been scattered and weakned in great measure, they have again brought them into

into full Credit and Fashion ; just like the *Jews*, who had learn'd to make a *Calf* in *Egypt*, but had no opportunity to practice till *Moses* was gone out of the *Camp*.

XLVIII. *Whether singing of David's Psalms be a part of Divine Worship? (a) Whether that practice was introduced in England for a Spiritual End, or only to preserve the Estimation and Knowledge of the laudable Science of Musick?*

(a) The way of *Singing Psalms*, as it is ordinarily used in the *Rithmical* way, hath no foundation in the Customs of the *Ancients*. *Beza* (I think) being much diverted with *Poetry*, made his *Pastime* to become a part of the *vulgar Devotion*: Hence I have heard them stiled, by some *Papists*, *Geneva-Figgs*. And indeed upon my most severe thoughts, to make the *Davidical Hymns* (though better translated) to be a part of our rational Service towards God, to sing in cases of *Joy* and *Sorrow*, or God's several dealings with us, what he did pen upon Emergencies, somewhat resembling, yet differenced by a number of Circumstances, is as absurd and ridiculous, as if (upon the like occasions) we should select *Epistles* or *Orations* out of *Tully*, and use them in common address to one another, or to the *Parliament*, who doubtless would not think it an act of respect, but *mockage*: If a *Delinquent* should, instead of an *humble Petition*, tender them a Paper entituled, *The Oration of Marcus Tullius*

Tullius Cicero, unto Julius Cæſar, in the behalf of Marcus Marcellus, or Ligarius; tho' the Preferer ſhould avow it for an excellent Piece, made by the beſt of Orators, in a caſe ſomewhat Parallel, yet all he could effect would be, that as he was before ſequeſtered for Malignancy, ſo he ſhould continue ſtill, either for Diſreſpects or Folly.

(b) Theſe are the expreſs words of the Injunctions given to the Clergy and Laity by
Injunct. 49. Q. Elizabeth. Item, Becauſe in divers Collegiate, and alſo ſome Pariſh-Churches, heretofore there hath been Livings appointed for the Maintenance of Men and Children, to uſe Singing in the Church, by means whereof, the laudable Science of Muſick hath been had in Eſtimation, and preſerved in Knowledge; the Queen's Maſteſty neither meaning in any wiſe the decay of any thing that might conveniently tend to the uſe and continuance of the ſaid Science, neither to have the ſame in any part ſo abuſed in the Church, that thereby the Common-Prayer ſhould be the worſe underſtanded of the Hearers, will-eth and commandeth, that firſt no alteration be made of ſuch assignments of Living, as heretofore hath been appointed to the uſe of Singing, or Muſick in the Church, but that the ſame ſo remain. And that there be a modeſt and diſtinct Song ſo uſed in all parts of the Common-Prayers in the Church, that the ſame may be as plainly underſtanded, as if it were read without Singing; and yet nevertheleſs for the comforting of ſuch as delight in Muſick, it may be permitted,
 that

that in the beginning, or in the end of Common-Prayers, either at Morning or Evening, there may be sung an Hymn, or such like Song, to the Praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of Melody and Musick that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the Hymn may be understood and perceived.

XLIX. Whether if the Supreme Magistrate should Enact or Ordain that the Names of Schismatick and Heretick should signifie nothing of Infamy or Disgrace, but a plain Dissent and Separation: Or, that they should be totally disused amongst us, they have not for the former procedure the Warrant of Antiquity; and for the latter, the President of Q. Elizabeth, as well as Q. Mary?

Under the Jewish Polity, after the failure of the Urim and Thummim. when God ceased by extraordinary means, to give out his Oracles, and Manifestations of his Will, the several Sects amongst them were stiled by the common name of Hereticks, and their ways Heresie: As the Sadduces, Acts 5. 17. The Pharisees, Acts 15. 7. The Christians, Acts 24. 5. And this is that which Paul says, Acts 24. 14. I confess unto you, after the way which they call Heresie, do I serve my God. Ὁμολογῶ δὲ τὰ τὸ σοί, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ὅδον ἢν λέγουσι αἱρεῖσιν, ἔγω λατρεύω τῷ πατρὶ ὡς Θεῷ. The import of this I conceive to be, that the Apostle did not serve the God of his Fathers in a formal customary way, as did many of the Jews, but in a more sincere and unfeigned

Way, nor yet by way of Faction, but by way of *Heresie*, according to this way doth he profess to *Worship his God*. And indeed *Josephus* saith in the like manner, without the least Reflection of Ignominy upon any Party, that in the time of *Jonathan* there

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 9.
κατὰ δὲ τὸ χερόν τῶν τρεῶς
αἱρέσεων οὗ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν ὧν ἡ
μὲν φαρισαίων ἐλέγετο, ἡ δὲ
σαδδουκαίων, ἡ τρίτη δὲ ἔσση-
ναι.

were three Heresies amongst the *Jews*, the *Pharisees*, and the *Sadducees*, and the *Essenes*. Now *Josephus* being a great Man amongst the *Jews*, and living at that time *Paul* so

spake, it is evident, that the *Jews* did not mean by *Heresie* any Contumely. As for *Q. Mary* in the Book of *Martyrs*, p. 1408. you have an *Inhibition* of hers, in which *She* willesh, and straitly chargeth and commandeth, all her good loving Subjects to live together in quiet sort, and good Christian Charity, leaving those new-found devilish Terms of *Papist*, or *Heretick*, or such like, and applying their whole Care, Study and Travel, to live in the Fear of God. And *Q. Elizabeth*, in her *Injunctions*, doth express her Mind thus. Item, Because in all Alterations, and specially in Rites and Ceremonies, there happeneth Discords among the People, and thereupon slanderous Words and Railings, whereby Charity, the knot of all Christian Society, is loosened: The Queen's Majesty being most desirous of all other earthly things, that her People should live in Charity both towards God and Man, and therein abound in good Works; willesh and straitly commandeth all manner her Subjects,

to forbear all Vain and Contentious Disputations in matters of Religion, and not to use in Despite or Rebuke of any Person, these contentious Words, Papist, or Papistical, Heretick, Schismatick, or Sacramentary, or any such like words of Reproach. But if any manner of Person shall deserve the Accusation of any such; that first he be charitably admonished thereof, and if that shall not amend him, then to denounce the Offender to the Ordinary, or to some higher Power, having Authority to correct the same. Now by this Pattern, may there not be an Edict made, that any Malefactor suffer for his Evil Deeds, without any Reflection upon those ways which he hath professed to walk in towards God? Sure I am that these Injunctions were to be read in every Parish-Church Quarterly, or the Minister to be punished; and when they ceased to be in force, I know not; but it is manifest, that the Puritans vouched their Authority against the Bishops and their Partisans, when they reviled them. Nor is this Proposal so harsh and strange, as that it ought to be resented by the English Clergy, since Mr. Dury (whose Negotiations for Peace betwixt the Calvinists and Lutherans were not only approved of by the respective Churches of both parts beyond Sea, but also by both our Universities, and the London Ministers) he in his account of the Means for Procuring and Establishing Peace, layeth down the ensuing Propositions as necessary:

1 That all names of Parties being odious,
 ' should be abolished on both sides: And
 ' this to be effected partly by perswasion,
 ' and partly by interposition of Autho-
 ' rity.

2. That clamorous and turbulent Fellows,
 ' such as either in their Sermons, or infam-
 ' mous Pamphlets, do traduce others, should
 ' be punished according to what the Laws
 ' inflict upon Calumniators.

3 That Tale-bearers, and such as sow
 ' Discord by false Reports amongst them
 ' who are quietly minded, be repressed and
 ' duly censured.

4. That in Writings and Sermons, where-
 ' in controverted Cases are handled, both
 ' sides use Moderation, not using any con-
 ' tumelious Language, or disgraceful Terms,
 ' against each other, nor imposing upon
 ' them any Opinion, which they have not
 ' asserted in the same words, or which may
 ' not be clearly deduced from them.

In fine, if *Heretic* must be an approbrious
 Term, I hope in Religion, as well as Civil
 Affairs, none shall be ignominiously branded,
 who is not convicted, without the benefit of
 an Action against the Slanderer. Self-con-
 demnation doth not make a Man *legally a*
Thief; not yet doth the expresse words
 (much less intricate Passages) of the Law,
 if unapplied by the Decision of a living
 Judge: Why then should a Man be account-
 ed an *Heretick* (a term so much more bit-
 ter than the other, as Heaven is above
 Earth)

Earth) upon more facile Terms? As the Malefactor whilst unaccused and uncondemned, is not therefore really Innocent, nor ought to think himself so, if he know himself guilty; yet is he so in Law, and must be so reputed as to all outward converse: So though we know a Man to be an *Heretick*, unless the Judge authentically censures him as such, we ought to dismiss him, as Christ did the *Adulteress*, nor condemning her, because no Man else had done it. If it be said, that they have been condemned and declared *Hereticks* by *Councils*; I answer so have the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, yet do not the *Lutherans* thereby prejudice their Tenets, nor yet we, who offer them (as did the *Gallick-Churches*) friendly Communion. Secondly, What Authority had those Councils to condemn them in *England*? I do not now Dispute against the Fallibility and Incogency of Synodal Decrees, which have been sufficiently invalidated by the first *Reformers*; but supposing that for granted, which will be eternally denied, and easily disproved: How comes a petit Assembly at *Nice* or *Chalcedon*, of some Bishops of the Neighbouring Provinces, to give Laws and Decisions for *England*, which I think had no Deputies there? Shall the whole Christian World be obliged by a Council, because the arrogant *Greeks* call it *Oecumenical*, who yet give the

The Patriarch of Constantinople was styled *oecumenicus* *Salmas.* in Eucharist, p. 553. and 659.

So Mennas, Patriarch of Constantinople, was by them called *oikumenikos*, Oecumenical. As Morney du Plessis proveth in his *Myster. iniquitat.* and of the several Arch-Bishops which they fondly styled *καθολικοι*, though some were not so much as *αυτοκρατορας* in their Diocesses, vid. *Salmas. de eccles. suburbic. adv. Sirmond. c. 3: p. 510, 511.*

same Title to sundry of their Patriarchs (as to Bishops, the Title of Catholick-Bishops) without giving them an universal Power, or any Jurisdiction over each other's Patriarchates? Is the Synod of Dort concluding in Britain? Doth Charenton condemn Hereticks, for enact Laws for the Province of London? Doth the Saxon Concord involve us who are no Saxons? How then doth the Greek Determinations become so valid? And why must so great an authority be ascribed to the first Council of Nice, beyond that of *Ariminum*, *Sirmium*, or the second Nicene Council? If you will, the latter were more Oecumenical, and as for the Emperor's Power, all had it Equally; there is no advantage to be found, but what a prepossessioned Judgment must give.

L. Whether it be not a very great abuse put upon the Independents amongst us, to say that They, or their Tenets, came from Amsterdam? Do not the Doctors that are got amongst them, Their sticking for the upholding the present formalized University, and a Tithe-receiving Ministry (whom yet not long ago they styled Abominable?) (a) and Parish-

Priests (b) and their demeanor towards the Quakers in Oxon, (agreeable

(a) Mr. Owen, of John's College, in Mary's-Bulld, called *Parochial Church-Administration Abominable.*

(b) Dr. Owen in his Book of Schism.

to a Persecuting, rather than Persecuted Spirit)
sufficiently acquit them from having any affinity
with those other precious Souls ?

Those that suffered as *Brownists* heretofore,
in their Apology against the *University of Ox-*
ford, amongst other their Positions, have
these following.

The Thirteenth Position.

That Popish^a Degrees in *Theology*, & en-
forcement to single Life in Colledges, & abuse
of the Study of profane Heathen Writers,
with other like Corruptions in Schools and
Academies, should be removed and redres-
sed, that so they may be the Well-springs
and Nurseries of true Learning and God-
liness. ^a 2 *Thess.* 2. 3, 4. *Rev.* 9. 3. and
13. 16, 17, 18. & 16. 13, 14. & 18. 11, 17,
19., with *Ephes.* 4. 11, 12, 13. 1 *Cor.* 12. 5.
28. *Deut.* 18. 15, 18, 19. b 1 *Cor.* 7. 2. 1 *Thess.*
4. 3, 4, 5. 2 *King.* 4. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. & 4
1, 3. *Heb.* 13. 4. with *Exod.* 20. 14. c 2 *Tim.*
3. 16, 17. *Deut.* 18. 15. 1 *Sam.* 10. 5, 10.
& 19. 20. 2 *King.* 2. 3, 5, 7, 15. *Amos* 7.
14, 15. with *Matth.* 13. 52. *Psal.* 119. 9,
99, 105, 128. *Ephes.* 6. 4. 2 *Tim.* 2. 2,
15, 16, 23,

I. That Popish Degrees in *Theology* ought to be
removed, &c.

i. Because they are Degrees in and for
the Ministry, which Christ the Lord never
appointed. Which is contrary to 1 *Cor.* 12.
5, 28. *Rom.* 12. 7. 8. *Ephes.* 4. 5, 11, 13. with
Deut. 18. 15, 18.

2. Because they are derived and retained from Antichrist, the Man of Sin, that hath corrupted the Schools of Learning, together with the Churches themselves. *2 Thess.* 2. 3, 4. With *Rev.* 8. 10, 11, 12. & 9. 3. & 16. 4, 13, 14. & 6. 12,--14. & 7. 1. & 14. 8,--11. & 17. 1, 4, 5. —

4. Because they are Pillars and Upholders of Antichristian Prelacy [Presbytery] and Tyranny, serving to continue and maintain the Throne of the Beast, *Rev.* 13. 11. with 16. 10, 13, & 19. 20.

5. Because as by other, so by this means also the Princes and People of the Earth have been more readily seduced to Error and Iniquity, as by lamentable Experience now many Ages hath found too true. And in this behalf it may also be considered here, Whether by this means, as well as by other, that be not verified which is written of perswading and gathering them to the Battle against the Lord, and against his Truth and People, *Rev.* 16. 13, 14. & 19. 19. & 20. 8, 9. with *Acts* 6. 9. 12.

II. *That inforcement to single Life in Colleges should be redressed, &c.*

1. Because Marriage is honourable among all. *Heb.* 13. 4. *1 Tim.* 3. 2.

2. Because in *Israel* the Sons of the Prophets and Students in their Schools of Learning were married, *2 Kings* 4. 1. & 6. 1. with *2 Kings* 2. 7, 15, 16.

3. Because Marriage is the means appointed by God to avoid Fornication, and enforcement

forcement to single Life the means procuring Fornication and Adulteries, &c. 1 Cor. 7. 2. 1 Theff. 4. 3, 4, 5. with Exod. 20. 14.

4. Because the forbidding of Marriage is a Doctrine of Devils, proceeding from the Spirit of Error; and is also a part and fruit of Antichrist's Defection from the Faith of Christ, 1 Tim. 4. 1, 2, 3.

III. *That the abuse of the Study of profane Heathen Writers, with other like Corruptions in Schools and Academies, should be removed and redressed, that so they may be the Well-springs and Nurseries of true Learning and Godliness.*

1. Because the Work and Fruit of Religion should be seen, and shew it self as well in the Studies of Learning, as in all other Actions of our Lives; and as well among Scholars as other People, Psalm 119. 9, 99, 105, 128. with Mat. 13. 51, 52. 1 Sam. 5. 10. 2 Kings 2. 7, 15, 16. Dan. 9. 2. 2 Tim. 1. 13. & 2. 2, 15.

2. Because the Schools and Universities should be like the Schools of the Prophets in Israel, for Training up the Students, as the Sons of the Prophets, in all good Learning and Godliness, 1 Sam. 19. 20. 2 Kings 2. 3, 5, 7, 15. with Mat. 13. 51, 52. 2 Tim. 2. 2.

3. Because the Scriptures are fully, sufficient for all Instruction and Conviction, both for Faith and Conversation, &c. And therefore all other Studies, and Learning, and Courses,

Courses, had in Schools and Univerſities, to be no farther nor otherwiſe allowed, than may be warranted by the Word of God, and be ſerviceable thereunto; whether for the better underſtanding thereof, or for convincing the Adverſaries, or for other good uſes in Church and Common-Weal, *2 Tim. 3. 16, 17. Tit. 1. 9. Deut. 18. 15, 18, 19. Iſa. 8. 20. & 29. 13, 14. Psalm 19. 7. 11. Prov. 30. 5, 6. with Rom. 1. 21, 22. 1 Cor. 19. 20.*

4. Becauſe the abuſe aforeſaid is hurtful many ways: To name ſome, Hence it is that diſverſe Preachers ſtuff their Sermons with the Tales or Testimonies of ſuch profane Writers; not keeping to the Word of God, which is able to ſave Souls, and to make the Man of God abſolutely and fully furniſhed to every good Work; being profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to inſtruct in Righteouſneſs. Hereupon alſo more Time is ſpent by many in ſuch Studies, than in the Studies of the Scriptures, or Tongues, or other good Learning, that might be more profitable for themſelves and others. Beſides that, hence do often ariſe, and are more ſtilly held, many Errors, Hereſies, fooliſh Questions, Contentions, Oppoſitions of Science (faſly ſo call'd) and other like Corruptions, many ways hurtful, no ways profitable for Church or Common-Wealth: And all contrary to *2 Tim. 3. 16, 17. James 1. 21, 22. 1 Pet. 4. 10, 11. with Acts 17. 2, 3, 10, 11. & 18. 24, 28.*

24, 28. *Rom.* 1. 21, 22. *1 Cor.* 1. 20. & 2. 1, 4. *1 Tim.* 1. 4, 7. & 4. 7, 12, 13, 16. & 6. 3, 4, 5, 20. *2 Tim.* 2. 16, 17, 18, 23. & 3. 1, 2. & 4. 2, 3, 4. *Titus* 3. 8, 9.

The Seventh Position.

That the due Maintenance of the Ministers should be of the free and voluntary Contribution of the Church, that according to Christ's Ordinance, *They which preach the Gospel, may live of the Gospel*, and not by Popish Lordships and Livings, or Jewish Tithes and Offerings. And that therefore the Lands, and like Revenues, of the Prelates and Clergy yet remaining (being still Baits to allure the Jesuits and Seminaries into the Land, and Incitements unto them, to plot and prosecute their wonted Evil Courses, in hopes to enjoy them in time to come) may now, by your Highness, be taken away, and converted to better use, as those of the Abbies, and Nunneries were heretofore by your Majesty's Worthy Predecessors, to the Honour of God, and great Good of the Realm. *1 Cor.* 9. 7-14. *Gal.* 6. 6. *1 Thess.* 5. 13. *1 Tim.* 5. 17, 18. compared with *Proverbs* 3. 9, 10. and with *Num.* 18. 8, 32. *Deut.* 18. 1, 5. & 25. 4. *2 Chron.* 31. 4, 21. *Nehem.* 13. 10, 14. *Mal.* 3. 8, 9, 10. *Heb.* 7. 5, 12. *Luke* 8. 3. & 10. 7. *Rom.* 15. 27. *Rev.* 17. 16.

1. Because Christ hath ordained, that so it should be now in the time of the Gospel, *1 Cor.* 9. 14. *Gal.* 6. 6. *1 Thess.* 5. 13.

2. Be-

2. Because the Law of Tithes did cease with the change of the *Levitical Priesthood*, Heb. 7. 12. and else why did Christ ordain another Maintenance for the Ministry of the Gospel, differing from (yet proportionable unto) that which was for the Priesthood under the Law? 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. Or why should this Ceremony of the Law be un-abolished by Christ, more than the rest? Num. 18. 24. with Heb. 7. 5, 12. & 9. 10. & 10. 1. Gal. 5. 1, 2, 3. Col. 2. 8,--17.

3. Because God, under the Law, would not have his Ministers (the *Priests* and *Levites*) to have any part or inheritance, as the other *Israelites* had in the Land of *Canaan*, but himself was their Inheritance: Of and by the Offerings and Altar of the Lord they were sustained, Deut. 10. 8, 9. & 18. 1, 5. Josh. 13. 14, 33. According to the Equity whereof, is the Maintenance of the Ministry of Christ now to be, 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14. Where, note also, that as the Ministers of the Gospel ought, in respect of their Ministry, to have their due Maintenance appointed by Christ (that they may, as the other before, be encouraged in the Law of the Lord, and better attend to their Function and Ministry) so may they not for it now, any more than at that time, devise or require any other than is ordained by the Lord himself; for which see the Scriptures alledged before in the Position it self.

4. Because Princes are bound, not only to see the true Ministry and Worship of God established and maintained, according to his Word, but also to take away and convert to other uses the Demeans, Revenues, and Maintenances of any false Ministries, and unlawful Ecclesiastical Functions, within their Dominions. *2 Chron.* 31. with *Deut.* 17, 18, 19, 20. *Isa.* 49. 23. & 60. 3, 10, 11, 12. *Psalms* 2. 10, 11, 12. *1 Tim.* 2. 2. with *Rev.* 17. 16.

5. Because there should else still remain such a manner of Maintenance, as by which any Ministry that should be received in the Land, though never so Popish or Unlawful, might be maintained: Contrary to *Prov.* 3. 9, 10. *Rev.* 17, 16. & 18. 11. *Psalms* 16. 3, 4. with *Exod.* 20. 4, 5, 6. *1 Cor.* 9. 14. & 10. 19, 20, 21, 22. *Eph.* 5. 11.

6. Because there is no more Warrant in the Word of God for the Lordships and Livings of the *Prelates* and *Priests* to be continued, than for the *Abby-Lands* of the *Fryers* and *Nuns* to be restored.

7. Because, by the Ordinance of Christ, it should be seen, That the Maintenance of the Ministers belongeth unto them for Preaching the Gospel, and cometh from the People of Love and Duty in that behalf: *1 Cor.* 9. 14. *1 Thess.* 5. 13. *Gal.* 6. 6. *1 Tim.* 5. 17, 18. Whereas that which is now in the Land, is such as the *Prelates* and *Priests* do exact (and the People are constrained to yield them) be they never so ungodly,

un-

unlearned, &c. Besides that, the *Jesuits* and *Seminaries*, and other the like, are by this means stirred up to attempt and follow still their Treasonable Practices, hoping for a Day when their Religion may, in the full thereof, enjoy them again; as is before noted in the Position it self.

LI. *Whether (notwithstanding any Privileges, Grants, or Institutions of private Colledges, or of the University in general) the Supreme Power may not amend, or alter the general Posture of the University, or particularly of private Colledges?*

Adr. Sara-
vila de im-
per. author,
& Christi-
an. obed. l.
1. c. 36.

Seeing the *Institutions* and *Laws* of *Colledges*, which were either made by themselves, indulged by Princes, or enacted by their respective Founders, and ratified by them, are not properly Laws, but Agreements betwixt them, or Priviledges whereby the Colledges only are obliged, together with them who relate thereto. The Authority of the *Supreme Magistrate* is not so bound by those Constitutions, but that upon good grounds he may, contrary to them, appoint what shall seem unto him fit and most advantagious. It ought not to be accounted a Breach of their *Statutes*, if any thing be ordained extraordinarily by the Magistrate, contrary to the received Customs there, or innovated by his Commands. It is very absurd to think, that the prime Magistrate, who makes and repeals the Laws
of

of a whole Kingdom, should be so tied up by the Laws and Priviledges of a private Colledge, or *University*, so as not to be able to do any thing contrary thereunto.

Lewis the Twelfth, of *France*, being come to the Crown, did make some Edicts, which retrenched upon the Priviledges of the *University* of *Paris*: Hereat they repined, and at a publick Convention resolved to intermit the *Academical Exercises*: And the *Rector* sent to the Preachers to inform the People, That from thenceforward Sermons, and other Scholastical Exercises, should cease: Besides, many petulant Speeches were scattered about, to the disgrace of the King and Chancellor. After the first heat was over, they hearing that his Majesty resented such their procedure, they sent some Delegates to him, to excuse the matter, and appease him. *George* of *Amboise*, Arch-Bishop of *Roven*, returned this answer in the King's Name, as *Gaguinus* relates it: *Learned Sirs*, You ought not to think it strange, if our most Just King considering several Abuses and Enormities perpetrated, under pretence of several Immunities of yours, hath fixed some bounds for your Priviledges. You cannot be ignorant of what hath happened; and it had become you to have desired first, rather than expected a Reformation, unto which the King was instigated, nor by any sudden Caprichio
of

' of his own, but by the advice of his
 ' Council, and able Lawyers: Hereupon it
 ' was that he set himself to redress Dis-
 ' orders; and you ought not to have re-
 ' pugn'd thereunto, by surceasing you usual
 ' Exercises and Preaching: Which *ALL* of
 ' yours, no Man can be so weak, as not to
 ' interpret it as a contempt of his Majesty.
 ' The King intended not to infringe your
 ' Just Liberties, but to prevent Fraud and
 ' Abuses; not to disquiet or discourage you
 ' in your Studies. He remembers how
 ' tender his Predecessors were of your
 ' Tranquility; he acknowledges the great
 ' Services you have done his Kingdom,
 ' and the universal State of *Christendom*:
 ' But your Posture cannot be allowable,
 ' which may be so abused and intrigued
 ' with unlawful Affairs. The King is of
 ' this mind, nor doth his Conscience regret
 ' it. He had rather have a few Studious
 ' and Orderly Persons, than a Rude Mul-
 ' titude of Peevish and Malapert Scholars.
 ' Endeavour so to compose your Manners,
 ' that you may obey the King, and pro-
 ' cure the Repute of Wisdom; for the at-
 ' taining whereof your Societies were
 ' erected: If you shall thus demean your
 ' selves, then shall the King take you into
 ' his Special Favour, and your Priviledges
 ' will be augmented. After that the Arch-
 ' Bishop had done speaking, the Deputies
 ' asked, If the King intended them any
 ' farther reply? Whereupon he said, Re-
 member

member me to those of my Scholars,
 ' which deserve that name ; for the others,
 ' I esteem them not. And laying his hand
 ' upon his Royal Breast, he said, They have
 ' reviled me in their Preachings, but I shall
 ' send them to Preach else-where. The
 ' Wrath of the King was just (saith *Sera-*
 ' *via*) for so much as they, who ought
 ' to have been Exemplary in Moderation
 ' and Obedience, had contumeliously abus'd
 ' him in the publick Assembly.

LII. *Whether the usual Respect of Persons,
 and Complemental Addresses, particularly that
 of Your Servant, be Lawful, and have not been
 anciently condemned ? (a)*

James 2. verse 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9,
 10, 11, 12. *My Brethren, have not the Faith
 of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory,
 with Respect of Persons. For if there come into
 your * Assembly a Man
 with a Gold Ring, in good-
 ly Apparel, and there come
 in also a poor Man in vile*

* The word signifies any manner of
 Assembly, and not only an Ecclesiasti-
 cal one, Jer. 31. 4, 13. and frequen-
 tly else in the Septuagint.

*Rayment: And ye have respect to him that
 weareth the gay Clothing, and say unto him,
 Sit thou here in a good Place ; And say to the
 Poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my Foot-
 stool : Are ye not then partial in your selves, and
 are become Judges of evil Thoughts ? Hearken,
 my beloved Brethren, Hath not God chosen the
 Poor of this World, Rich in Faith, and Heirs of
 the Kingdom which he hath promised to them
 that love him ? But ye have despised the Poor.*

Do not Rich Men oppress you, and draw you before the Judgment-Seats? Do not they Blaspheme that worthy Name by the which you are called? If ye fulfil the royal Law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self, ye do Well. But if ye have Respect to Persons, ye commit Sin, and are convinced of the Law as Transgressours. For whosoever shall keep the whole Law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all. For he that said, Do not commit Adultery, said also, Do not Kill. Now if thou commit no Adultery, yet if thou Kill, thou art become a Transgressor of the Law. So speak you, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the Law of Liberty.

Marlorat
out of Lu-
ther and Cal-
vin.

To Respect Persons here, is to have regard unto the outward Habit and Garb, and accordingly to Esteem or Undervalue him, Love or Dread him. The Apostle signifies that such *Respecting of Persons* doth so repugn with true Faith, that they are Inconsistent: For, by Faith we are united into one Body, wherein Christ is Principal: But if the Pomp and other worldly Regards prevail, and weaken what is of Christ it is a Sign of a decaying Faith.— Yea, so great is the Glory and Splendor of Christ in a Pious Soul, that all the Glories of the World have no Attracts, no Beauty in Comparison of that, unto one so disposed. He judges of the sincerity of Faith and Charity by such difference; and makes the practise thereof to be against the Light within them, so as that they who

' who follow such usages, condemn them-
 ' selves. — His reason against contempt of
 ' the Poor is, You ought not to Slight such
 ' as God Honours: But he who hath regard
 ' to the Rich, and undervalueth others that
 ' are not, doth invert the course which
 ' God takes, who enriches those with Faith,
 ' who are indigent as to outward Subsi-
 ' stence. — His reason against the Rich is,
 ' That the tendency of them (however some
 ' may well use them) is to make the own-
 ' ers Insolent and Oppressive, and Aliens to
 ' the Name and Power of Christ; so that
 ' it is clear he makes *Sanctity* to be the mo-
 ' tive of outward *Respect*, and that none
 ' is to be honoured upon the account of
 ' Riches (which render it presumptuous,
 ' that he is an Oppressor rather) but Ho-
 ' linefs.

Whether it be *Paulinus*, or *Ferome*, I
 know not, but in the works of the latter
 there is an Epistle to a Noble Matron, *Ce-
 lantia*, directing her how to live in the
 midst of her Riches and Honours, and this
 is part of his Direction to her:

' Heed not your Nobility, nor do you
 ' thereupon take place of any; repute not
 ' those who are of a lower Extraction, to
 ' be your Inferiours. Our Religion admits
 ' no Respect of Persons; nor doth it lead
 ' us to value the outward Condition of
 ' Men, but their Inward Frame of Spirit;
 ' it is hereby that we pronounce Men No-
 ' ble, and Base. With God, not to serve

'Sin is to be Free ; and to excell in Vertue,
 ' is to be Noble. — God hath chosen the
 ' Mean and the Contemptible of this World,
 ' whereby to humble the Great Ones : Be-
 ' sides, it is folly for any to boast his Gen-
 ' tility, since all are equally esteemed by
 ' God ; the Ransom of the Poor and Rich
 ' cost Christ an equal expence of Blood ;
 ' nor is it material in what estate a Man is
 ' Born, the New Creature hath no *distin-*
 ' *ctions* ; but if we will forget how we all
 ' descended from one Father, at least we
 ' ought perpetually to remember that we
 ' have one Saviour. Nor was this only
 ' the *Doctrine* of a single Person ; *Casaubon*
 ' in his Book of *Use and Custom*, hath a pas-
 ' sage of greater moment ; ' He is not count-
 ' ed a Civil Man now of late Years amongst
 ' us, that thinks much to subscribe himself
 ' *Servant*, though it be to his Equal or In-
 ' ferior. Yet *Sulpitius Severus* was once soundly
 ' chid by *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, for sub-
 ' scribing himself his *Servant*, in a Letter of his.
 ' In the Title of my Letter I have not in all things
 ' imitated your excellent Brotherhood, because I
 ' thought it more secure to write the Truth.
 ' Take heed hereafter how you, being from a
 ' *Servant*, called out unto Liberty, do subscribe
 ' your self *Servant*, unto one who is your Brother
 ' and Fellow-*Servant*. For it is a Sinful Flat-
 ' tery, not a Testimony of Humility, to pay
 ' those Honours to a Man, and a Sinner, which
 ' are due to the one Lord, one Master, and one
 ' God.

LIII. *Whether it be a peculiar Practice of our Modern Anabaptists and Quakers, that they will not Swear, no not before a Magistrate? Or whether it were not an Opinion of the Waldenses, Antecessors of the Protestants, and so celebrated in our Book of Martyrs, whose extent was over the Face of the whole Earth, and whose Antiquity is either of as old Date as the time of the Apostles, or at least as Pope Silvester in the time of Constantine?*

If the peevishness of these days of ours had not convinced me, I should never have imagined that an exceeding Tenderness for the Commandments of Christ, could have disguised any. But that the Observation of a Command so Positive, as I know none more; so enforced, as that Condemnation is awarded to the Transgressours, should bring upon any Men the greatest Obloquy imaginable, would surprise any not yet inured to Miracles. The Old Law permitted Swearing upon due Circumstances, it did not prohibit the taking of the Lord's Name absolutely into one's Mouth, but that it should not be *Taken in Vain*, and that Men should not commit Perjury. But Christ in opposition to this formerly legitimated way of Swearing, bids Men *Swear not at all*. And to prevent all Cavils, as if the subsequent Oaths had restrained this meaning to such Oaths as are there expressed, he adds, Let your *Language be Yea, Yea; and Nay, Nay*: What it is more than this, is from the Devil, *Matth. 5. 37.*

And if we compare this passage of our Saviour's with that of James 5. 12. we shall not find any way to elude the Text by unwritten *Distinctions*. Whether the first words signifie *Swear not, my Brethren, before any Man*: Or, *Above all things, Swear not*: Or, *Though all lye at Stake Swear not*; is all manner of Oaths; and not all of such a kind prohibited: And the reason is, *Left you fall into Condemnation*; under whose Condemnation can they fall, *who are in Jesus Christ*, and who count fit, *a small thing to be judged by Man's Day*? Surely of none but the *Living God*.

If these plain Texts may not excuse any Person, *fearing God* in a Congregation, professing Christianity, I despair of ever fulfilling the Apostles Command, of being ready always to give an answer, to every Man that asketh me a reason, of the hope that is in me, *with Meekness and Fear*. How justly soever I may be possessed with Fear, when I give an account of such an hope, as thwarteth such Scriptures as these, yet I think I should own little of Meekness. It is reported of the *Waldenses*, that They condemned all manner of Swearing as unlawful. So Parsons, Saunders, Coccins. And a German Writer, did esteem it a piece of Wit and Raillery, to say, That the *Hereticks*, which Swear not, are like to the Devil, who is not read to have used any Oath. They made it their care to avoid Swearing and Lying; and hereby they did give sufficient Cauti-

on

on against all Inconveniencies which might emerge thereby, as to Government in general. For where a Promise, or Assertion, made without any Oath, is as sure as if it had been Sworn to; I conceive the taking of an Oath, would be but a taking God's Name in Vain. However, since Bishop *Usher* doth esteem that place of *Matth. 5. 37.* to be a sufficient Apology for the *Waldenses*; they who have any esteem for him, ^{de success. c. 6.} must not condemn the *Quakers*. As for the Number, and Antiquity, of the aforesaid *Waldenses*, mentioned in the Query, though none can be ignorant of them, who hath looked beyond *Luther* for Protestancy: Yet I shall set down the words of *Reynerius*, one of the Popish Inquisitors, as he is cited by Bishop *Usher*, ' Amongst all the Sects which ^{de success. c. 9.} either are, or have been, there is not any more pernicious to the Church, than the *Leonists*, or *Waldenses*: And that for three Reasons: The First is, Because it is the most Ancient in continuance; for some say it hath continued ever since Pope *Sylvester*; others, ever since the time of the Apostles: Secondly, Because it is the most Universal, for there is scarce any Land, where this Sect hath not fixed it self. Thirdly, &c. *Jansenius* (a Papist) in his *Evangelical Concord*, c. 40. p. 285. doth teach that the *Waldenses* (as well as *Anabaptists* of late) did profess it to be no way Lawful for a Christian to Swear upon any occasion: Of the same Judgment, he saith, also were

the Pelagians, who yet did hold it to be no Oath to say, *I call God to witness, or God is my witness*, because that *Paul* useth those Expressions; ony to say *By God*, that they held to be an Oath; which, that it was their Judgment, he cites *Austin*, Epist. 89. in respons. ad 5 quest. It is true, *Austin* refutes them by saying, That God in the Old Testament did not only permit often, but enjoin to Swear in some Cases, *Deut. 6 13. Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt Swear by his Name. So Exod. 22 10, 11. If a Man deliver to his Neighbour an Ass, or an Ox, or a Sheep, or any Beast to keep, and it dye, or be hurt, or driven away, no Man seeing of it: Then shall an Oath of the Lord be between them both, that he hath not put his hands unto his Neighbours Goods: And the Owner of it shall accept thereof, and he shall not make it good.* But hereunto *Jansenius* saith, they answer, 'That the Jews were permitted to Swear, but not the Christians, who are totally prohibited it in this Precept of our Saviour's. And this they prove out of *Jerom*, who saith upon the place, 'It was permitted under the Law to the Jews, as being tender, and as it were Infants, that as they were to offer Sacrifices to God, lest they should Sacrifice to Idols; so they might Swear by God, not that it was rightfull so to do, but because it was better to Swear by the Lord, than by false Gods or Devils. But the great Evangelical Sincerity and Truth admits NOT
of

of an Oath, since every true Saying, is e-
 quivalent thereunto. In like manner doth
Theophilact upon the place in Controversie
 say, ' Learn hence, that then it was not evil
 for one to Swear, but since the Coming of
 Christ it is evil, as is Circumcision; and in
 sum, whatever is Judaical. For it may be-
 come a Child to suck, but not a Man. And
 whereas it is replyed further, That an Oath
 cannot be bad, because even God himself
 doth use them frequently in Scripture: They
 answer thus, That it becomes God alone to
 Swear, because he alone is true, and cannot
 Lye; but all Men are Lyars. And this they
 prove out of *Ambrose* upon *Psal. 118.* who
 comments thus upon that verse, *juraverit & sta-*
tuit, &c. None doth Swear aright, but he that
 knows what he Swears. The Lord hath Sworn, and
 will not repent, *Psal. 110. v. 4.* Let him then Swear,
 who cannot repent of his Oath. And a little after, the
 same *Ambrose* addeth, Do not imitate him in
 Swearing, whom you cannot imitate in fulfilling.
**NOLI USURPARE EXEMPLUM SACRAMENTI QUI IMPLENDI SACRAMENTI
 NON HABES POTESTATEM.** And in-
 deed the principal Solution given, is, Swear
 not at all; that is, Swear not as far as you are
 able, and it shall lye in your Power. As Murder
 is absolutely prohibited, yet it is lawful in some
 cases; so is it, saith *Jansenius* with Oaths; how
 weak this is, let any consciencious Man judge:
 and if it be ever lawful for a Christian to Swear,
 yet Woe be to them that reduce him to such
 necessities that he must Swear; as Woe attends
 them that necessitate him to Kill.

The

The Conclusion:

Reader, Thou hast here a few *Questions* proposed by one who desires to lie low in his own Eyes, and after all his Reading, rather to *doubt*, (*doubting* is no more the way to Error, than to Truth) than to *assert*. I know not what some fierce and interested Replier may say, and that with a proportionate Confidence; yet this thou mayst be assured of, That the Citations here are not *obtruded* upon thee at *second-hand*, being not Transcribed out of Mens Writings that *mis-alleged* them, but fetched from their Original *Authors*: He who *queried*, did not so much as trust his *Memory*, or *Juvenile Collection*, but brought all to the *Test*, by a faithful Review. The *Interrogatories* are of such a Moment, that he thought they might deserve a satisfactory Answer: And he had observed, That neither the *Pulpiters*, nor *Writers* of these Times, did contribute by their Labours any thing towards such Conscience-Work, though the Posture of their Affairs require it. He thought fit, in his *Questions*, to produce such Testimonies as made for the *Negative* and *Heterodox* Part: Unto which Process he was inclined by several Reasons: One is, Because that the general Prejudices of many in this Age are such, That if he had not done this, they would not have thought *these things* *Questionable*.

Questionable. Secondly, He had a tender regard to those who have made the Subject of these *Queries* to be their *Assertions*: In the behalf of these he did set down what you see, that their *Opponents* (though they pride themselves with the conceit of *Learning*, and esteem of others as *Illiterate*) may at least own them for less than *Fanatic* and groundless *Opinionists*. He did not alledge any *Proofs* for the other part; both because he knew that others would do that for him, as also because he had not that esteem for *Quotations* to the contrary, which he had for these; not that he is much pre-pollessed through *Prejudice*, but upon an *old Protestant Consideration*, that *Records* and *Presidents* differing from the received *ways* and *interests* of *Men*, are more to be regarded than any that make for them; since the *Forgeries* and *Falsifications* of precedent Ages, make it probable, that *such Passages* might be inserted and *foisted in*; but *why*, or *how*, these should be *adulterated*, he did not see. Even in *Matters* of common *Transaction*, in our *English Courts* of *Judicature*, he thought he had been told, That one *Precedent* or *Verdict* against the *Jurisdiction* of a *Court*, is of more *Validity* than a *Thousand* for it; because it is supposed, that none will, contrary to *Right* and *Equity*, infringe their own *Power*. Farther, If any should oppose the *Sayings* of others, in behalf *Humane Learning*, to what he had *vouched*, he hoped they would produce them out of *Authors contemporaries* with

with his ; or else they should not imagine that he would think any such Averments to be contradictory to what his *Query* may seemingly assert, nor yet satisfactory to the Question : Nor doth he think (and *Heraldas*, *Onzelius*, and others, concur with him herein) that out of *Antiquity* they can alledge any such *Quarations*. If they oppose his *Query* with the practice and use of *Humane Learning*, which is found in *Clem. Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius Felix*, &c. he shall not think such dealing to be fair, since the Question is, *What is their Judgment ?* Not, *What they did Practice ?* Of the latter, no Man will suppose the *Querist* to be ignorant ; and if any should, yet would the *Objection* be of no value, until they shall evince, That every Man did in those times *Live up to the Light he had, and acted as he spake*. He thinks it may have been with the *Ancients*, as with that excellent *Methodist* in *Musick*, who being sick of a *Fever*, a *Friend* visited him, and found him drinking *Wine* ; whereupon he charged him with having formerly prohibited the use thereof in *Fevers* by his *Writings* : The *Infirm* replied, *In my Books you see the Practice of Physick, but in me the Practice of Physicians*. He supposes, that after *Persons* have been brought over from *Paganism* to *Christianity*, something may stick by them, as an ill *Scent* may, when one comes out of a *Jakes* ; yet that is their *Failing*, not their *Justification*. If *Moses* learn'd

learn'd the *Egyptian Skill*, it was whilst he remained in *Pharaob's Court*: And so *Paul* was learn'd in *Heathen Authors*, but it was before he came to the *School of Christ*; he hath used them but three or four times in his *Works*, whereas now they are more frequent than *Texts of Scripture*.

* *Athanasius* against the *Gentiles*, saith, *The Scriptures are sufficient to declare the Truth of themselves*; and that if his Friend *Macarius* did read other Religious Writers, it was but φιλοκάλως. a *Lover of Elegance*, not as a *Lover of Christ*. Other things there were, which he will not now insist upon, having weighed them in the *Ballances*, and found them light. About the *Call of the Ministry*, and the *First Reformers*, he hopes not to be opposed with the after-judgment of *Luther*, or the rest: He is not of their Opinion, who

* *Athanasius* begins his *Discourse*, against the *Gentiles*, to *Macarius* thus: *The Knowledge of Godliness, and that Truth which is all in all, doth not so much stand in need of Humane Teachings, and that Learning which is from Men, as that it hath not sufficient Discoveries from it self*; for it doth as it were cry aloud daily in its *Works*, and manifests its self more clearly than the *Sun* through the *Doctrine of Christ*. But seeing you, *Macarius*, do desire to be particularly informed thereof, I shall, as far as I am able, give a brief account of the *Faith in Christ*; though you might indeed learn it your self out of the *Sacred Writ*, wherein it is to be found, or hear it from others by way of *Curiosity*:
 Ἡ μὲν περὶ τῆς Θεοσεβείας, καὶ τῆς ἡλὼν ἀληθείας γνώσις, ἡ τοσούτον τὸ παρατρεῖν ἀνδραγαθῶν διδασκαλίας δεῖται, ὅσον αὐτῆς ἑαυτῆς ἔχει τὸ γνώριμον μονοῦ· καὶ γὰρ κατ' ἡμίραν τοῖς ἔργοις κέκραται. καὶ ἡμεῖς λαμπρότερον ἑαυτὴν διὰ τὸ τῷ Χριστῷ διδασκαλίας ἐπαρδείκνυται πρόβῳ· ὅτι δὲ σοὶ ὅμως τὰ περὶ ταύτης ἀκούσαι, φέρε, ὦ Μακάριε, ὡς ἂν ὅσοι τε ὦ μὲν, ὀλίγα τὸ

κατὰ Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐνδωμέθη δυνάμει· ὡ μὲν σοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς δέων λογίων ταύτῃ εὐρεῖν, φιλοκάλως δὲ ὅμως καὶ παρ' ἑτέρων ἀκούσι, αὐτάρχεις μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν αἱ ἀγίαι καὶ δεδοταυτοὶ γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν παλῆνδεας ἀπαγγελίαν. *Athanas. or. contr. Gent. in invio.*

thinks

thinks the first Reformers did use that Artifice, of bending a crooked Stick, as much the other way, that so it may at last become straight: Such dealings are not to be admitted in the service of our God, who is a Consuming Fire: It is to charge them with a great Hypocrisie (since they never owned any such Actions, but delivered all as precious and glorious Truths) and to make them guilty of the Ruine of those poor Souls, who died in the Profession of a Belief, their Teachers did not intend them. In fine, it is to make the first Reformation as bad (or not much better) a way as that of Popery; and all that embrace it, and adhere thereunto, to be in a different only, and sinful Estate. It is a slur to the greatest Wonder God hath produced, after the Churches being 1100 Years in the Wilderness: How much more ought we to prejudge all succeeding times from their Doctrines? And having such Pregnant Motives to believe they were Spirited by God, let us impute their after-change to falling upon Carnal Considerations; when Luther went to settle himself Pope in Germany, and his Writings were advanced as the Test of Truth; and an Oligarchy of Ministers settled else-where: Let us own our Reformation to God, and not Belial, or Antichrist; to the Call and Excitement of the former, not Consecration of the latter: Let us acknowledge their Zeal, their Charity, and those more Glorious Principles of Spiritual Graces, rather than

than Prudential Contrivements. Are not those their First Works, which are here quoted? Are not those

the *works* by which *Luther* said he would have Men and Angels tried? If you say, that there is a difference betwixt a *Church* settled and unsettled,

Luther adv. falso nominatum ordinem Episcopatum. t. 2. fol. 307. c. 1. edit. Witeberg. & ibid. f. 333. adv. regim. Angliz. c. 1.

a Question would arise (if that can be questioned) *Whether the Papists did not say, their Church was then settled?* And whether any Settlement *political* will suffice to debar those Actings? For then the first Reformers, yea, first Christians, and Christ himself, all are cast. If only what is a Settlement of *Truth*, or Gospel-Settlement, be intended, doth not this resolve all into a *Trial of Doctrines*, and a proof that the present Way is the sole *Gospel-Way*? Which, whosoever shall avow, he need not want employment for his Thoughts, from the several Writings of *Papists, Episcoparians, Presbyterians, Independents, &c.* however the *Questionist* should rest.

But I think I have, in the subsequent Discourses, sufficiently debated the Case and Constitution of the *Ministry*, especially as to the *Negative* part; and I hope none will be so unreasonable as to expect from me all things at once: *Leisure*, and the Circumstances we fall into, shall determine the farther Publication of my *Thoughts*. Some will be apt to clamour, That which I here say about *Tithes, Clergy, and Universities,*

versities, &c. is a carrying on of the *Popish*
 Contrivances, for the restoring of that *Re-*
ligion. This same was objected to the
Brownists at *Amsterdam* heretofore, by the
Heads and Doctors of the *University* of *Oxon.*
 And I hope what those Godly Men did
 reply then, whose Sincerity renders them
 free from abetting, or carrying on, any
 Romish Designs, may not be unseasonably
 alledged by me now: *For the Clergy, Who*
can be ignorant that the Papists would not at
any hand have the overthrow thereof; but
that it doth them good at Heart, to see the
continuance of it still in the Land? Hath it
not also been, and still is, one of the Special
Means they have to keep them in hope of their
long expected Day? And do not themselves
affirm, That it is their Religion which
erected and built all the Churches, Hos-
pitals, and Ancient Colledges in Christen-
dom, endowed them with Livings, insti-
tuted the Universities and Seminaries, di-
stinguished the Multitudes into Parishes,
proportioned the Tithes, annexed the
Glebe-Land, founded the Bishopricks, li-
mitted the Diocesses, decreed Ecclesiastical
Laws and Immunities, &c. founded the
Ecclesiastical Censures, and sorts of Dis-
cipline, as Suspension, Interdiction, Ex-
communication, Irregularity, Degradation,
and the like; and was also the Author
of the Canon Law, and many points,
both of her Censures, Laws and Disci-
pline, practised by the Protestants them-
selves:

Apolog. for
 the Brown-
 ists, p. 83.

Papists sup-
 plic. to the
 King, in
 the Reas. of
 Relig. p. 6.
 & 15.

' selves: And that without such their
 ' Churches Provision and Ordinances, the
 ' Religion (in England) could never have
 ' carried the Exterior Show it doth. Thus
 ' have the Papists themselves written: And
 ' would they then have the overthrow of
 ' that, which they challenge as their own,
 ' after which they long earnestly; and for
 ' which they leave no means unattempted,
 ' that they might enjoy it again, as hereto-
 ' fore they have done? Yea, and I am
 more apt to believe, would not, when I
 seriously consider what effects the Dissolu-
 tion of *Abbies* had in *Qu. Marry's* days, to
 the excluding of Popery, and how the
Albigenses and *Piedmontane* Protestants have
 preserved their Religion incorrupt longer
 than any Church, with an endowed Cler-
 gy, in the World; yea, that Christianity
 it self in the Primitive Times did neither
 want able Pastors, nor was so disquieted
 with Political Complying Opinions, Cu-
 riosities, &c. until *Constantine* began to en-
 rich the Churches, at what time a Voice
 was heard from Heaven, *This day Poison*
 hath been shed in the Church; and of which
 Act of his *Dantes*, the famous *Italian* sing-
 eth thus, as the excellent *Mr. J. Milton*
 doth render it in English blank Verse:

I. M. of
 Reform. p.
 30.

Ab Constantine, of how much ill was cause
Not thy Conversion, but those rich Demeans
That the first wealthy Pope receiv'd of thee?

R

And

And Chaucer brings in his *Plow-Man*,
 2 part. stanz. 28. telling a Tale, which the
Lancashire-Ministers late Rebellion puts me
 in mind of:

The Emperor take the Pope-sometime,
 So high Lordship him about,
 That at last the silly Kine,
 Be proud Pope put him out.
 So of this Realm is no doubt,
 But Lords beware and them defend;
 For now these Folks be wonderful stout,
 The King and Lords now thus amend.

But since whatever I say may possibly
 be looked upon as *Time-serving*, and not
 spoken out of a due Inquiry into the po-
 sition of Affairs, which would happen upon
 so great Changes and Alterations, as to the
 Ministry, I shall recommend to the City
 of *London* some Verses of their Poet Lau-
 reate, the famous *Spencer*, who died too
 many Years ago, that he should write out
 of favour to any in our Times; and I
 think he was not deemed a *Sectarian*. In
 the Eclogue of *May*, under the false Shep-
 herd *Palinode*, he lively Personates our Pres-
 byterial Ministers, whose whole Life is a
 Recantation of their Pastoral Vow; and
 whose Profession to forsake the World, as
 they use the matter, boggs them deeper
 into the World: Those he inveighes against
 (as I may say) not without some presage
 of these Reforming Times.

Cited by
 J. M.

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The time was once, and may again return,
 (For oft may happen that hath been before)
 When Shepherds had none Inheritance
 Ne of Land, nor fee in sufferance,
 But what might arise of the bare Sheep,
 (Were it more or less) which they did keep.
 Well ywis, was it with Shepherds tho';
 Nought having, nought fear'd they to forego.
 For Pan himself was their Inheritance,
 And little them serv'd for their Maintenance;
 The Shepherds God so well them guided,
 That of nought were they unprovided:
 Butter enough, Honey, Milk, and Whay,
 And their Flock fleeces them to array.
 But tract of time, and long Prosperity,
 (That Nurse of Vice, this of Insolency)
 Lulled the Shepherds in such security,
 That not content with Loyal Obeysance,
 Some 'gan to gape for greedy Governace,
 And match themselves with mighty Potentates,
 Lovers of Lordships, and Troublers of States.
 Then 'gan Shepherds Swaines to look aloft,
 And leave to live hard, and learn to lig soft.
 Tho' under colour of Shepherds some while
 There crep'd in Wolves, full of fraud and guile,
 That often devoured their own Sheep,
 And often the Shepherds that did them keep.
 This was the first scource of Shepherd's sorrow,
 That now will be quit with bale, nor borrow.

Some perhaps may expect that I should,
 in the Discourse of Tithes, have said some-
 thing concerning Abraham's paying Tithes
 to Melchizedec, and Jacob's vowing them to

the Lord: But I thought the Consideration of them to be impertinent to the Discourse. For what is it to our *Ministers*, if *Jacob* having received a Promise of the Land of *Canaan*, that his Posterity should possess it, *Gen. 28. 13.* doth thereupon *Vow* unto God, that of all God should give, he would surely give him the *Tenth*? It is a *Vow*, voluntary, made with an *If*: *v. 20.* And *Jacob* vowed a *Vow*, saying, *If God will be with me, &c.* I see not that he payed any before, or that he repents for having not payed them; nor yet that ever he payed them after his return; nor do I know to whom he should pay them; for since his goodness extended not to the Lord, he could not give them to God as Personally present, nor to any *Priests*; for God had no constituted *Priesthood*, but the Eldest or First-born of every Family, he was *Priest to the Family*; and this was *Jacob*, by vertue of that Birth-right which he had purchased of his Brother *Esau*. As for the Conjectures of some, who imagined that he might have payed them to some other *Priest*, not expressed; I reply, That I imagine too that he did not. But we are come to a fine pass, if *Dreams* and *Conjectures* shall establish a *Divine Right*, and that *Particular Actions* shall argue a *Moral Duty*. By vertue of *Jacob's Vow*, the Tenth of that Land, which the Lord should give him in his Posterity, became due to God, who disposed of it to the *Levites* and *Priests*: *Levit. 27. 30.* All the *Tithe of the Land*, whether of the Seed of the

the Land, or of the Fruit of the Tree, is the Lord's; it is Holy unto the Lord. If it had been as positively Revealed concerning all the World, as it is concerning Palestine the Divine Right, if not Moral, had been unquestionable. But though it be written, That the Earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, Psalm 24. 1. & 89. 11. So, without Exceptions, it is written, The Earth hath he given to the Children of Men, Psalm 115. 16. And since there is no Revelation in the Old, nor Precept in the New Testament, for paying Tithes, (which had been as easily mentioned as a General Maintenance, and was very material; it being as a Duty, not Charity, imprinted in and required of Man, as Man) I think the Dispensation may be recounted amongst the Singularity of the Jewish Polity; and that we are not obliged at all thereby: Nor by that singular Fact of Abraham, who at his return from Lot's rescue, and the slaughter of the Kings, Gen. 14. 17. having restored to the King of Sodom what Goods were his, and had been taken from him in the War, out of the remaining Spoils he gave a Tenth unto Melchizedec, King of Salem, who met him in the King's Dale with Bread and Wine. If we will say, that he gave Tithes of all that ever he had, yet since it is not recorded as his Custom and constant Usage, but as an extraordinary thing, I should not conclude any thing therefrom, until I hear that all Actions are Examples, and that what

a Saint ever did, or Patriarch, that becomes, Obligatory, and binds with a Moral or Divine Right.

He that should lie and think to Eernity, would find as little imprinted in Man, as to the Quota, or Tenth part, as there is strength in an Argument from a singular instance. The Mysteries found in the Number of Ten are quitted by the Patriots of Tithes; and *Nicolas la Maistre* saith, He cannot perceive any Validity in that Reason, whereby to demonstrate the necessity of Tithes; since a good Wit may find out Mysteries in any number, and as easily stamp Wonderful Discoveries therein, as *Jupiter* did in that Cloud, where-with he deluded *Ixion*. If the Question be concerning the *Seventh-Day-Sabbath* being Moral, then Divines find out the Mysteries of the Number, of Seven; and upon other occasions, in other Numbers, even to Twelve: As I remember, *Heynes*, in his Survey of the Scriptures (tho' I have not the Book by me now) doth in an entire Chapter show. As for the several Examples of the Heathens, they being not of Nations, but Persons, (except the *Sabai*, who Tithed to their Priest *Frankincense*, but nothing else) not by way of constant payment, but upon some extraordinary Emergency, either by way of particular Gain to Merchants, or other Trades, or of Victory to Captains and Kings; who, out of hope, did often Vow the Tenths of what should accrue to them; I am far from thinking this

De bonis.
Eccl. part.
20. l. 1. c.
3.

Vid. Irenæ-
um Lugdu-
nens. l. 1.
adv. hæres.
Valens. c.
15.

La Maistre.
p. 2. l. 1.
c. 2.

this sufficient to prove an Obligation by the Law of Nature ; any more than it is Natural to put to Death upon a *Mutiny* in the Army every Tenth Man ; or upon a Revolt, because the *Romans* and *Greeks* usually did so ; or that he who makes a false Demand of Money, or refuses to pay what had been lent him, should pay, if he be cast, the Tenth Moiety to the publick Exchequer ; as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and the Inhabitants of *Montpelier*, practised of old, or do still. So Taxes, if imposed on Subjects, should be the Tenth of their Estates : For thus did *Pisistratus* at *Athens*, and the *Romans* usually, and the *Turks* now, and the Kings of *France* heretofore. From all that hath been said, it appears, not that there is any consequence in the Argument, that because they were upon occasion payed, or it may be sometimes constantly, therefore it was upon an *Instinct* of Nature. He that gives more or less in an Alms, or he who on a Die casts this or that number, or such like cases, acts by a Lottery, as it were, not impulse ; nor can they give a better account (setting aside Prudential Motives in laying Taxes ; which, if performed by example, are less burdensome : Or Superstition in point of Worship, which was counted more Solemn, if render'd after the *Egyptian* way) than he in *Pontanus*, who was very solicitous why *Homer* made the first word of his *Illiads* to be *μῆνιν* after many Criticisms,

Id. ibld. c. 1.

(as that the Author intended at first to write 48 Books, and hinted that in the two first Letters, * &c.) he went to ask *Homer* himself, who replied, That in good sooth it was the first word that came into his mind. If *Tithes* were so due by the Law of Nature, how comes this instinct to cease in the first Christians, who, by Grace, being divested of vulgar Prejudices, could distinguish what was of the Law of Nature better than the *Heathens*? What mean those frequent Donations, by which they are given to such and such places, recorded in Church-History? Why is not an entire *Tenth* every where payed, or required, but in some places a *Twelfth*, a *Fifteenth*, a *Twentieth*? I urge not that the Ministers are not the Tenth part of the People; for it may be proved, that the *Levites* were not In *Israel*, no nor *Judah*; though, notwithstanding that, it may be also replied, That so great a Maintenance, with several Cities, was attributed to the *Priests*; because, as *Josephus* informs us, amongst the *Jews* the Priesthood was the Nobility, they made up the greatest and most honourable part in all *Judicatories*; whereas there is no such thing now. But supposing the *Divine Right of Tithes*, and that *Melchizedec* received them as Priest, (a thing not to be proved by a *Parenthe-tical* Discourse in *Genesis*: And that Church of the *Latines*, which introduced *Tithes*, did not own the Epistle to the *Hebrews*) How then came

La Maistr.
p. 2. l. 1.
c. 5.

came they to claim them as due under the New Testament, when there are no *Priests*? If under the Old Testament, *Abraham* did pay them to *Melchizedec*, and not before; and if *Jacob* yowed the Tenth of all the Lord should give him, but payed them not that we can find, for want of a Person duely to receive them; What evidence have we that these Men ought to receive our Tithes? Howbeit that our Young Men should see *Visions*, as the Old Men dream *Dreams*, of their being due by Divine Right? Are we to pay them to every one that shall claim them? But I shall not enlarge any farther herein, beyond what I have in the fore-going Book presented thee with, only take this of the Primitive Ministry, as I have faithfully represented it in an Extract out of *Antonius de Dominis*, the learned Bishop of *Spalato*, de Repub. Eccles. l. 9.

Christ himself, though he were the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and the fulness thereof, yet would not he be possessed of great Lands and Incomes; though he seemingly complain that the Fowls of the Air have their Nests, and Foxes their Holes; but not the Son of Man where to rest his Head, Luke 9. 58. Yet did not he imbetter his Condition, although to the effecting thereof, there needed no more than that he should will it to be so. Nor did he demand Tithes, tho' a Priest after the Order of *Melchizedec* indubitably; but whilest he went thorough the Cities and Castles, Preaching the Gospel,

spel, and instructing Men for the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Twelve with him; several Women, as, Mary Magdalen, Joanna, Susanna, and others, did Minister unto him of their Substance, Luke 8. 1, 2. Nor did he otherwise Instruct his Apostles, who were to be his Ambassadors on Earth towards Mankind: In the beginning, when he sends them out, he doth not bid them receive Tithes, or Teach the People to pay them, but bids them to live upon Alms: Carry not with you Gold, or Silver, or any Money in your Purses; not a Scrip, nor a pair of Shoes, nor two Coats, nor a Staff supernumerary; for the Labourer is worthy of his Meat, Matth. 10. 9. If one now should ask our Ministers by what Right do they claim Tithes? They cannot say by a better Right than the Apostles had; They pretend to be but the Successors of them: And if you ask them the extent of their Commission, you shall have it in these words forthwith, As the Father sent me, so send I you: But if one should demand whether they will stand to such a Deputation in other Respects, I have little hopes they will comply in point of Maintenance; tho' it be far more evident than the perpetuity of an imposed officiating Ministry, that the reason given by Christ is eternally valid in reference to all Labourers, that they deserve their Meat.

The Disciples of Christ being thus taught by their great Master, forsaking their livelihoods and earthly Possessions, presumed upon the goodness of God, who would not so have sent them abroad, but that he would dispose the Hearts of Men accordingly in order to their subsistence: So they
relyed

relyed upon their Converts for necessary supplies, and received the Benevolence of several Pious Women, who ministred unto them. For so saith Paul, Have not I Power to lead about with me a Woman, a Sister, as do the other Apostles, and the Brethren of our Lord, and Cephas? 1 Cor. 9. 5. And he at large sheweth how they who sow Spirituals, ought to reap Temporal Sustenance of the People; and saith, it is the appointment of the Lord, that they who Preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel, 1 Cor. 9. 14. 'They',
 'saith Prosper, do live of the Gospel, who'
 'will be Proprietors of nothing, who nei-'
 'ther have, nor desire to have any thing,
 'not possessing their own, but the common'
 'Goods. What is it to live of the Gospel,
 but that he who Labours should receive necessary supplies, by them amongst whom he Labours? Though Paul himself would not make use of his Permission, lest he should create Offence; but he laboured with his hands, being a Tent-maker, and so got his living, Act. 18. 3. & 1 Cor. 4. 12. By these voluntary Contributions were the Apostles sustained, and such others as laboured in the Gospel. Cyril of Alexandria, descanting upon that passage of Abraham, Gen. 14. 23. who after he had gained a Victory over the Enemies of the King of Sodom, and rescued him, together with his Confederates and Lot, when the said King offered him part of the Spoils, he would receive nothing but a few Victuals:
 From thence doth Cyril take occasion excellent-

Prosper de
vita contem-
pl. l. 2. c. 14.
in concil. A-
quisgran. c.
111.

Cyril de a-
dorat in
spir. 3. ver.
l. 4. ad finem.

ly to shew what doth become the Ministers of Christ. ' Though, saith he, the holy Teachers do War in the behalf of perishing Mankind, though they undergo an infinity of Pains, yet do not they take any thing from the Men of the World, nor do they heap up to themselves Riches, whereby they decline that invidious exprobration, to which they would be else liable: Say not that I have enriched Abraham. They only receive their Sustainance from the hands of those whom they have benefited: For the Labourer is worthy of his Hire: And it is Christ's Command, that he who Teaches the Gospel, should live thereby.

Exe 10. 7.

1 Cor. 9. 14.

The Clergy then did not live by Tithes, nor did they demand any such thing; but as often as they met together, at least as often as they did break bread together, Collections were made (some resemblance whereof there is in the vulgar Communion or Sacrament-receiving) and out of those voluntary Oblations were the Clergy maintained, Sick, Poor, Strangers, Prisoners, Widows, Orphans, and all indigent Persons supplied. Those Collections were not so enforced, as that any Man could not refuse them: Every one, saith Tertullian, once in a Month, or as he pleaseth, or is able, doth give his Alms; for none is compelled, but each gives of his own accord. And after the monthly Allotment of the Officiating Clergy, and other Charitable Works were defrayed; the remaining Sum was de-

Tertull. in
Apolog. c.
39.

deposited in a Chest, for help of the Poor, upon any Emergency, as the aforesaid Tertulian doth tell us: So that how Bountiful soever the first Christians were for some Centuries (and indeed they were so liberal, that all things were common, as it were, to the fraternity) yet did the Clergy advantage themselves no further thereby, than that they were supplied with Food, Rayment, and what else their necessities did require; Sobriety and Temperance were their Possession, being so far from growing Rich, that they thought all manner of Opulency mis-becoming a Clergy-man. A Rich Priest by Origen is compared to those of Pharaoh, Gen. 47. 22. And the

comparison is by him thus managed, 'It is said that the Land of the Priests in Egypt was not brought into Pharaoh's Possession, nor did they sell themselves with the other Egyptians, but they were sustained Gratis, either by the munificence of Pharaoh, or Joseph, and by reason of such their familiarity with the King, they did not vary their condition, but continued their Possession; and it is said unto them, which Christ saith to those that are Believers, I call you not now Servants, but Friends. In fine, Would you know what is the difference betwixt the Priests of God, and the Priests of Pharaoh? Pharaoh gives his Priests Lands on Earth, the Lord doth not give any Portion unto his in the Land; but he tells them, I am your Portion. Mark then all you

Origen in
Genes. homil.
16.

John 15. 15.

' you, who read this, ye Priests of the
 ' Lord, and see what difference there is
 ' betwixt Priest and Priest, lest that they
 ' who have a Portion in the Land, and
 ' are taken up with earthly Cares and Stu-
 ' dies, be not found the Priests of the
 ' Lord, but of Pharaoh; for it is he who
 ' allows his Priests a Possession in the Land,
 ' and to Cultivate the Earth, and not their
 ' Minds, and to Busie themselves in their
 ' Farmes, and not in the Law. But let us
 ' hear what Christ hath commanded his
 ' Disciples, *He who forsaketh not all his Pos-*
 ' *sessions for my sake, cannot be my Disciple.*

Luke 14. 33.

' I tremble at these Words, for I first of
 ' all, I my self become my own accuser,
 ' and pronounce my own Condemnation.
 ' Christ denies him to be his Disciple,
 ' whom he sees to retain any Possessions,
 ' and who doth not forgoe all things; and
 ' what do we do? How do we read these
 ' things, or how do we explain them to
 ' the People, who are so far from re-
 ' nouncing what we now possess, that we
 ' strive to make new Purchases of what
 ' we had not before we came to Christ?
 ' What then? Shall we conceal those things
 ' that are written, or pass them over in
 ' Silence, because that our Conscience
 ' chargeth us with the neglect of them?
 ' No, I will not be doubly Criminal: I
 ' confess that all this is written, although
 ' I know that I have not fulfilled it. But
 ' taking warning from hence, let us make
 ' haste

* haste to fulfill it, let us make haste to pass
 * from amongst the Number of Pharaoh's
 * Priests, who have Possessions in the Land,
 * unto those of God, who have no earth-
 * ly Possessions, but whose Portion is the
 * Lord. For even such was he who did
 * say, *As Poor, yet making others Rich; as*
 * *having nothing, yet possessing all things.* It
 * is Paul, who doth thus Boast. Will you
 * hear what Peter saith of himself? Hear
 * what he says concerning himself and
 * John also, *Silver and Gold have I none.*
 * Behold the Riches of those who are
 * Priests to Christ, and behold what it is
 * that they bestow, who have nothing!
 * Such Riches are not the result of earthly
 * Possessions. The same Origen saith else-
 * where, *But let us quickly apply these*
 * *things to our selves, who are prohibited*
 * *by the Law of Christ, if we have any*
 * *regard thereunto, to have Possessions in*
 * *the Country, or Houses in City; What*
 * *do I say? Possessions! Houses! No, not*
 * *to multiply Coats, or Money. If we*
 * *have Food and Rayment, let us be con-*
 * *tent. These are the Professions of that*
 * *eminent Man, Origen, who acknowledgeth*
 * *it to be his Sin, and trembles at the breach*
 * *of Christ's Commandment; that he being*
 * *a Clergy-man, should still retain his Patri-*
 * *trimony. Nor is this the single Declara-*
 * *ration of one superstitious Man; It was*
 * *the Judgment and Practise of the Church*
 * *for many Years after his Decease.*

2 Cor. 6. 10.

Acts 3. 6.

Origen bo-
mil. 15. in
Levit.Origen bo-
mil. 15. in
Levit.Origen bo-
mil. 15. in
Levit.Origen bo-
mil. 15. in
Levit.

doth

doth much extol the Poverty of the Clergy.

Hier. ep. 2.
ad Nepoti-
an.

As a Levite, and Priest, saith he, do I live of the Tenths, and serving at the Altar, I am supplied by the Oblations of the Altar; having Food, having Clothes, I will be content therewith, and naked follow the naked Cross. I beseech you (he writes to *Nepotianus* a Clergy-man) and by a redoubled enforcement warn you, that you would not transform our Spiritual Warfare into a Carnal One, nor imagine your self in the Clergy, as if you were in an Army; look not for Spoils in these Conflicts, nor yet more than you brought with you, when you came first to the Clergy; lest it be said to you, their Lot shall not profit them.

and Hieron.
ad Nepoti-
an.

[*Clerici corum non proderunt eis*] Hieron. 12.

13. The said *Jerom* doth much exaggerate this, because it was both the Custom and Constitution of those times, that none but the Poor shall be admitted to the Clergy; and if any Rich Man would take Orders, he was to quit his Riches, and forsake his Patrimony. Speaking how the Apostles de-

Hier. in ep.
ad Tit. c. 1.

signed a Bishop to be; he, amongst other things, saith, A Bishop, who desires to be an imitator of the Apostles, having Food and Rayment, must be content there-

1 Cor. 9. 13.

with. Let them that serve at the Altar, live by the Altar: He doth not say, Let them grow Rich thereby. Wherefore we are interdicted Money in our Purses, and to wear but one Coat, nor to think

Matth. 10. 9.

of

to Morrow: It is a desire of filthy
 Lucre, even to think of more than
 the present. *Possidius* writes it in the
 Life of *Austin*, c. 11. He was always
 mindful of the Poor, and relieved them
 out of that Maintenance where by he
 and his were sustained; that is, either
 out of the Revenues of the Church,
 or the Oblations of the Faithful. And
 when, as it usually happens, any did
 envy the Clergy for their Possessions; he
 told the People, that he had rather live
 by Church-Collections, than be troubled
 with the management of those Posses-
 sions; And that he was ready to give
 Them up, that so all the Servants of God,
 and Ministers, might live, as they in the
 Old Testament, *Serving at the Altar*, and
 participating thereof. But the Laity
 would never permit this. *Chrysostom hom.*
15. in 1 Tim. avoweth it boldly, that the
 Rulers of the Church ought to have no-
 thing but Food and Rayment. In the fourth
 Council of Carthage, c. 51, 52, 53. it is or-
 dained, Let every Clergy-man get his
 livelihood by some Artifice, or Husban-
 dry, without prejudice to his Calling.
 And let every Clergy-man, tho' learn-
 ed in the Word of God, have some Ar-
 tifice, or Handy-Craft. And let all Clergy-
 men that are able to Labour, learn some
 petty Handy-Crafts.

And thus I have given a brief account,
 of what he at large proveth: In which
 S Book,

This is proved by Dr. Heylin, in his certain epist. against Baxter; & by a nameless, yet sober and learned writer in the time of Q. Eliz. In a Book called *An Abstract of Laws and Canons, &c. in force.*

Book, the Reader may satisfy himself concerning not only the Maintenance of the Ministry, but the Propriety they have in their Goods and Possessions, arising to them, as they are of the Clergy. If it be said by Q. Elizabeth (as I shew hereafter) that the Goods of the Church are the Goods of the Poor: It is from this Bishop you may see it proved; they are not Proprietors, nor do I know by what Laws they claim a Property, as Free-holders, being but Stewards for the Church, incapable of making a Legacy, much less of keeping a House, of defrauding the poor Alms-men and Tenants of their wonted Reception, that so they may grow Rich, and ride in Coaches. (as the Canons of Ch. Ch. in Oxon.) for such a Stewardship I know not any Law in Force; the Ecclesiastical Laws, where they interfere not with the English Supremacy, are in force against them, I think, they being a part of the National Law; if they are (as Albertus Cranzius, l. 3. c. 15. said heretofore of the Secular Canons) *Monstre sine Exemplo, Regularis sine Regula, Canonici sine Canone.* Monsters without Example, Regulars without any Rule; Canons without any Laws.

F. I. N. I. S.

And thus I have given a brief account of what he at large: in which Book

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